

NO. XXXII.

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
GENERAL REVIEW.

NEW SERIES—NO. II.

MAY, 1829.

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NOTICE.

A CHANGE, indicated in its new title, has been made in the Christian Examiner, through which it is hoped to render the publication more extensively useful and interesting. The work will be enlarged by the addition of somewhat more than one half the whole number of pages formerly given in each year, and thus make two volumes instead of one, while only a third will be added to the price of subscription, which will hereafter be four dollars per annum. The range of subjects, it is intended, shall not be so limited as it heretofore has been. It is proposed that the work shall contain, as far as this may be effected by the gentlemen engaged in its support, accounts of the most important books which may appear, not only in theology, but in polite literature, the popular sciences, and the various departments of knowledge which are of most general interest. Such accounts, it is hoped, will give information respecting the character and contents of many works, which will not otherwise be generally known in this country, and supply, in some degree, a deficiency in our periodical literature. At the same time, it is intended, that the Christian Examiner shall embrace free and independent discussions of topics of general interest; and that whatever opinions on any subject are esteemed right and useful by the gentlemen engaged in the work, shall be expressed openly.

Some important characteristics by which it is hoped this work will be distinguished are the following. Religion, the most important subject to which the study and contemplation of man can be directed, will be an object of particular attention. The topics connected with it will be freely discussed in this work. Books in the science of theology will be reviewed as readily as those in the other sciences. It is proposed, at the same time, that all subjects which have a bearing on religion or morality, should be discussed with the spirit of an enlightened Christian. It has been thought that by exhibiting the relations of true religion with literature and science, its character would be more clearly and effectively shown; and that it is thus only, that those principles can be established, which ought to guide our taste and direct our studies.

In order to accomplish what has been proposed, the number of the conductors of the Examiner has been much enlarged; and now comprehends gentlemen whose studies lie in different branches of learning, but who are all interested in the promotion of the religious and moral as well as intellectual improvement of men, believing that all these are intimately connected, and dependent upon each other.

☞ THIS WORK will hereafter be published on the first of March, May, July, September, November, and January, in Boston, Portsmouth, Portland, Providence, New York, and Philadelphia. Subscribers who receive their copies by mail, or of agents, may therefore depend on having their numbers on the same day that they are advertised in Boston.

☞ Since the publication of our last number, our subscription list has received what under all circumstances we must regard a very flattering increase, especially as it has been wholly without solicitation. Still, if our friends wish to see this work supported in all its departments as it ought to be, some more considerable exertions on their part to extend its circulation, than they have hitherto made, are loudly called for. Especially is it in the power of clergymen to do much in this way, and we should be glad to send ministers or other persons a copy of the work without charge, on condition of their procuring four subscribers, and the work shall continue to be sent them so long as the number of their subscribers is not less than three.

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NEW SERIES—NO. II.

MAY, 1829.

ART. I.—*Remains of the late Rev. Charles Wolfe, A. B. Curate of Donoughmore, Diocess of Armagh. With a brief Memoir of his Life.* By the Rev. JOHN A. RUSSELL, M. A. Archdeacon of Clogher. Third Edition. London. 1827. 8vo. pp. 473.

THOUGH we have observed no notice of this volume in our reviews or magazines, the publication of an American edition of it shows that it has not been altogether neglected among us. We presume, however, that few of our readers have met with it, and on that presumption, we will lay a short account of it before them.

The title of the book fairly expresses the nature of its contents. It is a collection of remains only; but they are the remains of a pure and beautiful mind, graceful fragments of a temple, which must have been a worthy sanctuary of the spirit of God.

It might be supposed that the author of the Ode on the Death of Sir John Moore, must have left something else behind him, which would partake in some measure of its spirit, and at least repay the trouble of perusal. If he had exercised and cultivated with assiduity the poetic talent which that piece so remarkably evinces, and with which in truth his soul was running over, we have no manner of doubt that he would have taken a high place in the ranks of British bards, and poured

forth many a strain on which the world would have hung with rapture. But he did not cultivate that talent; and the cause why he did not, only increases our respect for him. He was a minister of the gospel; and to the duties of his station he gave up his genius and his time. Full of enthusiasm, the burning enthusiasm of an Irishman; conscious as he must have been of the possession of superior intellect; imaginative, tender, tasteful, he followed what he believed to be a call of duty to a remote country parish, and there spent and at last consumed his energies in the task of enlightening, affecting, and converting an ignorant, rude, and vicious population. He was a clergyman of the Church of England. He was what is called Orthodox in his faith. But we will pay all our readers the compliment of believing, that we have already secured him a place in their good opinion.

Before we offer any specimens of these Remains, we will just give the outlines of their author's biography.

Charles Wolfe was born in Dublin, in the year 1791. His family was highly respectable, and numbers among its names the distinguished one of the conqueror of Quebec. His early instruction was principally received at Winchester school. In 1809 he entered the University of Dublin, where he obtained a high rank as a scholar, and was rewarded by many literary honors. In 1814 he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts. In 1817 he was ordained, and appointed to a remote country curacy in the north of Ireland, 'where he could not hope to meet one individual to enter into his feelings, or to hold communion with him upon the accustomed subjects of his former pursuits.' Here he labored like an apostle, and lived with all the simplicity of one, till he was obliged to suspend his labors by the attacks of a consumptive disorder, which first excited the apprehensions of his friends, in the spring of 1821. He passed a winter in Devonshire, near Exeter, and in the summer of 1822 made a voyage to Bourdeaux, and back. But the disease would not be defeated, and he grew constantly weaker. His last place of residence was the Cove of Cork, where he died on the 21st of February, 1823, in the thirtysecond year of his age.

The following paragraphs from the Memoir, describe some incidents of his last hours. They cannot be read, we think, without emotion.

‘It is natural for a religious mind to feel a lively interest in every record of the last illness and death of any eminent servant of God—to expect some happy evidences of triumphant faith and holy resignation in such a trying state—at the awful moment when all the vast realities of an eternal world are about to be disclosed to the disembodied spirit. There are some persons who perhaps look for such evidences chiefly in ardent ejaculations, in affecting expressions of self-humiliation, in palpable impressions of present comfort, or raptures of joyful anticipation; but these may not be, after all, unequivocal or indispensable tests of the presence and power of true faith. It should not be forgotten how much depends upon the state of the animal system at such times, upon the nature of the complaint, or even on the peculiar constitution of the mind itself. As in the case of the steadfast and holy Christian here recorded, the disease may be such as to encumber the faculties of the soul by a peculiar pressure upon the body; the corruptible part may “weigh down the mind which museth on many things,” and thus incapacitate it for any energetic manifestation of its feelings. It was the nature of his particular malady to bring on an oppressive lassitude of spirits; and he was also afflicted with a raking cough, which for some time before his death disabled him from speaking a single sentence without incurring a violent paroxysm.

‘One interesting fact, however, may prove, with more certainty than a thousand rapturous expressions, the ascendancy of his faith in the midst of these depressing circumstances.

‘On the day before his dissolution, the medical gentleman who attended him felt it his duty to apprise him of his immediate danger, and expressed himself thus: “Your mind, sir, seems to be so raised above this world, that I need not fear to communicate to you my candid opinion of your state.” “Yes, sir,” replied he, “I trust I have been learning to live above the world;” and he then made some impressive observations on the ground of his own hopes; and having afterwards heard that they had a favorable effect, he entered more fully into the subject with him on his next visit, and continued speaking for an hour, in such a convincing, affecting, and solemn strain, (and this at a time when he seemed incapable of uttering a single sentence,) that the physician, on retiring to the adjoining room, threw himself on the sofa, in tears, exclaiming, “There is something superhuman about that man: it is astonishing to see such a mind in a body so wasted; such mental vigor in a poor frame dropping into the grave!”’ pp. 205–207.

‘During the last few days of his life, when his sufferings became more distressing, his constant expression was, “This

light affliction, this light affliction!" and when the awful crisis drew near, he still maintained the same sweet spirit of resignation. Even then he showed an instance of that thoughtful benevolence, that amiable tenderness of feeling, which formed a striking trait in his character:—he expressed much anxiety about the accommodation of an attendant who was sleeping in the adjoining room; and gave even minute directions respecting it.

'On going to bed he felt very drowsy; and soon after the stupor of death began to creep over him. He began to pray for all his dearest friends individually; but his voice faltering, he could only say—"God bless them all! The peace of God and of Jesus Christ overshadow them, dwell in them, reign in them!" "My peace," said he, addressing his sister, "(the peace I now feel) be with you!"—"Thou, O God, wilt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on thee." His speech again began to fail, and he fell into a slumber; but whenever his senses were recalled he returned to prayer. He repeated part of the Lord's prayer, but was unable to proceed; and at last, with a composure scarcely credible at such a moment, he whispered to the dear relative who hung over his death-bed, "Close this eye, the other is closed already; and now farewell!" Then, having again uttered part of the Lord's prayer, he fell asleep. "He is not dead, but sleepeth." pp. 209, 210.

To the above we will only add one sentence, from the pen of another individual, the Rev. Dr Miller, author of *Lectures on the Philosophy of Modern History*. We quote it, both for the sake of the summary which it gives of the character of Mr Wolfe, and of the great beauty of the sentence itself. It forms the conclusion of a letter to the editor of a London paper.

'His opinions were as sober, as if they were merely speculative; his fancy was as vivid as if he never reasoned; his conduct as zealous as if he thought only of his practical duties; everything in him held its proper place, except a due consideration of himself, and to his neglect of this he became an early victim.'

In proceeding to select from the *Remains*, we shall begin with the poetry, all of which, as we are informed by the friend and biographer of Mr Wolfe, was written during his residence at college. There is not much of it, and the merit of what there is, is unequal; but a fair proportion of it is not unworthy of the author of one of the finest odes in our language.

The first piece which attracted notice was written in the first

year of his college course, on a subject proposed by the heads of the University. The subject was 'Jugurtha in Prison.' The poem is in the form of a soliloquy, and is distinguished throughout by great vigor. A few of the first lines may serve as a specimen.

'Well—is the rack prepared—the pincers heated?
Where is the scourge? How!—not employed in Rome?
We have them in Numidia. Not in Rome?
I'm sorry for it; I could enjoy it now;
I might have felt them yesterday; but now,—
Now I have seen my funeral procession:
The chariot-wheels of Marius have rolled o'er me:
His horses' hoofs have trampled me in triumph,—
I have attained that terrible consummation
My soul could stand aloof, and from on high
Look down upon the ruins of my body,
Smiling in apathy: I feel no longer;
I challenge Rome to give another pang.—
Gods! how he smiled, when he beheld me pause
Before his car, and scowl upon the mob;
The curse of Rome was burning on my lips,
And I had gnawed my chain, and hurled it at them,
But that I knew he would have smiled again.' pp. 8, 9.

The celebrated ode on the death of Sir John Moore, stands as the third poetical piece in this collection. So little ambitious was the author of poetical fame, that it found its way into the newspapers of the time, without his knowledge or concurrence; and though it was claimed by and for several writers, he never took any pains to assert his own right to it. Byron pronounced it, as soon as he saw it, one of the very best lyrics of the age; and the concurrent testimony of the public has put upon it the stamp of immortality. Such being the rank and character of this ode, we make no apology for inserting the whole of it, as it is printed in the *Remains*, from the author's own manuscript. It will be perceived that some lines in it differ from the copy which has been most generally known. We shall prefix to it, as Mr Russell has done, the paragraph in the *Edinburgh Annual Register* which had the honor of prompting it.

"Sir John Moore had often said, that if he was killed in battle, he wished to be buried where he fell. The body was removed at midnight to the citadel of Corunna. A grave was dug for him on the rampart there, by a party of the 9th regiment,

the aides-du-camp attending by turns. No coffin could be procured, and the officers of his staff wrapped the body, dressed as it was, in a military cloak and blankets. The interment was hastened; for, about eight in the morning, some firing was heard, and the officers feared that if a serious attack were made, they should be ordered away, and not suffered to pay him their last duty. The officers of his family bore him to the grave; the funeral service was read by the chaplain; and the corpse was covered with earth."—*Edinburgh Annual Register*, 1808, p. 458.

'Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note,
As his corse to the rampart we hurried;
Not a soldier discharged his farewell shot
O'er the grave where our hero we buried.

'We buried him darkly at dead of night,
The sods with our bayonets turning;
By the struggling moonbeam's misty light,
And the lantern dimly burning.

'No useless coffin enclosed his breast,
Not in sheet or in shroud we wound him;
But he lay like a warrior taking his rest,
With his martial cloak around him.

'Few and short were the prayers we said,
And we spoke not a word of sorrow;
But we steadfastly gazed on the face that was dead,
And we bitterly thought of the morrow.

'We thought, as we hollowed his narrow bed,
And smoothed down his lonely pillow,
That the foe and the stranger would tread o'er his head,
And we far away on the billow!

'Lightly they'll talk of the spirit that's gone,
And o'er his cold ashes upbraid him,—
But little he'll reck, if they let him sleep on
In the grave where a Briton has laid him.

'But half of our heavy task was done,
When the clock struck the hour for retiring;
And we heard the distant and random gun
That the foe was sullenly firing.

'Slowly and sadly we laid him down,
From the field of his fame fresh and gory;
We carved not a line, and we raised not a stone—
But we left him alone with his glory!' pp. 28-31.

Mr Wolfe was keenly alive to the impressions of music, and entered into its poetry with all a poet's feeling. The following little story will show how well he understood, and how passionately he must have loved the sweet and touching melodies of his native land. He wrote it as a kind of introduction to the well known song of 'The last Rose of Summer.'

"This is the grave of Dermid:—he was the best minstrel among us all,—a youth of a romantic genius, and of the most tremulous and yet the most impetuous feeling. He knew all our old national airs, of every character and description: according as his song was in a lofty or a mournful strain, the village represented a camp or a funeral; but if Dermid were in his merry mood, the lads and lasses were hurried into dance with a giddy and irresistible gaiety. One day our chieftain committed a cruel and wanton outrage against one of our peaceful villagers. Dermid's harp was in his hand when he heard it. With all the thoughtlessness and independent sensibility of a poet's indignation, he struck the chords that never spoke without response,—and the detestation became universal. He was driven from amongst us by our enraged chief; and all his relations, and the maid he loved, attended our banished minstrel into the wide world. For three years there were no tidings of Dermid, and the song and dance were silent, when one of our little boys came running in and told us that he saw Dermid approaching at a distance. Instantly the whole village was in commotion; the youths and maidens assembled in the green, and agreed to celebrate the arrival of their poet with a dance; they fixed upon the air he was to play for them; it was the merriest of his collection. The ring was formed;—all looked eagerly towards the quarter from which he was to arrive, determined to greet their favorite bard with a cheer. But they were checked the instant he appeared; he came slowly and languidly and loiteringly along;—his countenance had a cold, dim, and careless aspect, very different from that expressive tearfulness which marked his features, even in his more melancholy moments: his harp was swinging heavily upon his arm;—it seemed a burden to him; it was much shattered, and some of the strings were broken. He looked at us for a few moments,—then, relapsing into vacancy, advanced, without quickening his pace, to his accustomed stone, and sat down in silence. After a pause, we ventured to ask him for his friends:—he first looked up sharply in our faces,—next, down upon his harp,—then struck a few notes of a wild and desponding melody, which we had never heard before; but his hand dropped, and he did not finish it. Again we paused—then,

knowing well that if we could give the smallest mirthful impulse to his feelings, his whole soul would soon follow, we asked him for the merry air we had chosen. We were surprised at the readiness with which he seemed to comply;—but it was the same wild and heart-breaking strain he had commenced. In fact, we found that the soul of the minstrel had become an entire void, except one solitary ray, that vibrated sluggishly through its very darkest part: it was like the sea in a dark calm, which you only know to be in motion by the panting which you hear; he had totally forgotten every trace of his former strains, not only those that were more gay and airy, but even those of a more pensive cast; and he had got in their stead that one dreary, single melody; it was about a lonely rose that had outlived all his companions; this he continued singing and playing from day to day, until he spread an unusual gloom over the whole village; he seemed to perceive it, for he retired to the churchyard, and remained singing it there to the day of his death. The afflicted constantly repaired to hear it, and he died singing it to a maid who had lost her lover. The orphans have learnt it, and still chant it over poor Dermid's grave." pp. 38-41.

Among his favorite airs was that deeply mournful one of 'Gramachree.' He was dissatisfied with all the words which had been written for it, even those two verses of Moore's, beginning, 'The Harp that once through Tara's Halls,' and said that they all appeared to him to want *individuality* of feeling. At the request of a friend he gave his own conceptions of the character of the air, in a song which seems to us to possess the requisites of tenderness, pathos, and *individuality* in an eminent degree. Being asked whether he had any real incident in view in the composition of it, he answered, 'He had not; but that he had sung the air over and over till he burst into a flood of tears, in which mood he composed the words.' This anecdote alone would be sufficient to show the susceptibility of his nature. The song is as follows—

'If I had thought thou couldst have died;
I might not weep for thee;
But I forgot, when by thy side,
That thou couldst mortal be;
It never through my mind had past,
The time would e'er be o'er,
And I on thee should look my last,
And thou shouldst smile no more!

‘ And still upon that face I look,
And think ’t will smile again ;
And still the thought I will not brook,
That I must look in vain !
But when I speak—thou dost not say,
What thou ne’er left’st unsaid ;
And now I feel, as well I may,
Sweet Mary ! thou art dead !
‘ If thou wouldst stay, e’en as thou art,
All cold, and all serene—
I still might press thy silent heart,
And where thy smiles have been !
While e’en thy chill, bleak corse I have,
Thou seemest still mine own ;
But there I lay thee in thy grave—
And I am now alone !
‘ I do not think, where’er thou art,
Thou hast forgotten me ;
And I, perhaps, may soothe this heart,
In thinking too of thee ;
Yet there was round thee such a dawn
Of light ne’er seen before,
As fancy never could have drawn,
And never can restore !’

pp. 42, 43.

The latter half of the volume is occupied by fifteen of Mr Wolfe’s sermons. They were not intended for the press, and are certainly not remarkable for close and continuous reasoning or luminous arrangement ; but they have more feeling than discourses from the British pulpit are apt to have, and contain passages of great strength and eloquence.

Such are the *Remains of the Rev. Charles Wolfe* ; a man, whom, though when alive he might not have wished for our fellowship, and could not have approved of our religious opinions, we yet gladly recognise as a member of the true, liberal, holy, and apostolical church, gathered from all sects and denominations, countries and climes under the broad heaven.

ART. II.—*Correspondence between John Quincy Adams, Esquire, President of the United States, and several Citizens of Massachusetts, concerning the Charge of a Design to Dissolve the Union alleged to have existed in that State.* Boston. 1829. 8vo. pp. 80.

WE have placed at the head of this article the title of a pamphlet, which has drawn much attention and excited much feeling. But in so doing, we have not thought of reviewing the controversy to which it relates. Our work is devoted to the inculcation and defence of great principles, and we are anxious to keep it free from irritating personalities. We are resolved to contend earnestly for what we deem truth, but we wish no contest with individuals. We are aware that cases may exist, in which justice to persecuted virtue, or to a good but suffering cause, may bind us to take part in temporary controversies. We feel, however, no such obligation in the present instance. In the Correspondence, those whom we deem injured have vindicated themselves too effectually to need other defenders. The charge of a Northern plot for dismembering the country has been fairly met and triumphantly refuted. We violate therefore no duty in following our inclinations, and in leaving this controversy to those whom it immediately concerns.—To prevent misapprehension, we will add, that in speaking of the charge which gave rise to the Correspondence, as fully refuted, we mean not to accuse of wilful misrepresentation the individual by whom it was brought forward. We are not ignorant of the facility with which men deceive themselves, especially when their passions are inflamed. We mean not to deny, that Mr Adams may imagine himself in possession of proofs which sustain his allegation; nor is it hard to explain the delusion. It is very possible, that twentyfive years ago, in a most agitated and convulsed state of the country, some among us questioned, whether the national government was likely to accomplish the good which it had promised. It is very possible, that, in that season of exasperation, some rash spirits among the Federalists gave utterance to passionate invectives, and inconsiderate menaces; and we can very easily understand, how a mind, disposed to misconstrue the words and actions of ardent partisans, might, in the midst of such excitement, become haunted with suspicions and visionary conspiracies. We think

it very creditable to our country, that, in passing through the stormy season of which we have spoken, it teemed with no more panics and inventions of secret treasons; that so few plots were feigned or feared. We exceedingly regret, that Mr Adams has made it necessary to his reputation, to fasten a reproach of this nature on a portion of his fellow citizens. We regret, not only for public reasons, but for his own sake, that on retiring from office, he cannot promise himself the happiness of his predecessors, the happiness of a calm and dignified retirement from public strife.

Our aim in the present article is to call the attention of our readers to a subject of great moment, which is directly brought before us by the Correspondence; we mean, the Importance of our National Union. This topic is one of transcendent and universal interest, and therefore deserves a place in a work devoted to the inculcation of those great principles, which involve the virtue and happiness of the community. In the discussion of such a topic, we shall of necessity recur to the events and struggles of the last thirty or forty years. But we shall do so, not for the purpose of reviving half extinguished animosities, but in the hope of pointing out our danger as a nation, and of awakening a more enlightened attachment to our common country. We trust, that we claim for ourselves no singular virtue in saying, that we look back on the conflicts and revolutions of this period as on matters of history, and that we identify ourselves with them scarcely more than with events preceding our birth. It seems to us, that a good degree of impartiality in relation to this period, instead of requiring a high moral effort, is almost forced upon us by the circumstances of our times. Our age has been marked above all others by the suddenness, variety, and stupendousness of its revolutions. The events of centuries have been crowded into a single life. The history of the civilized world, since the bursting forth of the French Revolution, reminds us of one of the irregular dramas of Shakspeare, in which the incidents of a reign are compressed into an hour. Overwhelming changes have rushed upon one another too rapidly to give us time to comprehend them, and have been so multiplied as to exhaust our capacity of admiration. In consequence of this thronging and whirl of events, the revolutions which we have witnessed seem to be thrown back, and to belong to a previous age. Our interest in them as cotemporaries is diminished to a degree which excites our own

wonder, and we think that we recall them with as little selfish partiality, as we experience in looking back on the transactions of past centuries. Perhaps we are deceived; but we can assure our readers, that we should not trust ourselves to speak as frankly as we may of the past, did we not believe, that our personal interest in it differs little from what we feel in other important periods of human history.

We have said that our present topic is the importance of the Union, and we have selected it because it cannot, we apprehend, be too deeply impressed. No lesson should be written more indelibly on the hearts of our citizens. To secure to it the strong conviction with which it ought to be received, we have thought that we might usefully insist on the chief good which the Union confers; and we are the more disposed to do this, because we are not sure that this subject is sufficiently understood, because we sometimes apprehend that the people are not aware of the most essential benefit which they derive from the confederation, but are looking to it for advantages which it cannot bestow, and are in danger of exposing it to hazard by expecting from it more than it can accomplish. Of all governments we may say, that the good which they promote is chiefly negative, and this is especially true of the federal institutions which bind these States together. Their highest function is, to evert evil. Nor let their efficiency on this account be disparaged. The highest political good, liberty, is negative. It is the removal of obstructions. It is security from wrong. It confers no positive happiness, but opens a field in which the individual may achieve his happiness by his own unfettered powers. The great good of the Union we may express almost in a word. It preserves us from wasting and destroying one another. It preserves relations of peace among communities, which, if broken into separate nations, would be arrayed against one another in perpetual, merciless, and ruinous war. It indeed contributes to our defence against foreign states, but still more it defends us from one another. This we apprehend to be the chief boon of the Union, and its importance we apprehend is not sufficiently felt. So highly do we estimate it, that we ask nothing of the General Government, but to hold us together, to establish among the different States relations of friendship and peace; and we are sure, that our State Governments and individual energies will work out for us a happiness, such as no other people have yet secured.

The importance of this benefit is easy to be understood, by considering the sure and tremendous miseries which would follow disunion. For ourselves, we fear, that bloody and mournful as human history now is, a sadder page than has yet been written, might record the sufferings of this country, should we divide ourselves into separate communities. Our impressions on this subject are so strong, that we cannot resist the desire of communicating them to others. We fear that our country, in case of disunion, would be broken into communities, which would cherish towards one another singularly fierce and implacable enmities. We do not refer to the angry and vindictive feelings which would grow out of the struggles implied in a separation. There are other and more permanent causes of hatred and hostility.

One cause, we think, would be found in the singularly active, bold, enterprising spirit, which actuates this whole country. Perhaps, as a people, we have no stronger distinction, than a thirst for adventure and new acquisitions. A quiet, cold, phlegmatic race might be divided with comparatively little peril. But a neighbourhood of restless, daring, all-grasping communities, would contain within itself the seeds of perpetual hostility. Our feverish activity would break out in endless competitions and jealousies. In every foreign market, we should meet as rivals. The same great objects would be grasped at by all. Add to this, that the necessity of preserving some balance of power, would lead each republic to watch the others with a suspicious eye; and this balance could not be maintained, in these young and growing communities, as easily as in the old and stationary ones of Europe. Among nations, such as we should form, which would only have begun to develop their resources, and in which the spirit of liberty would favor an indefinite expansion, the political equilibrium would be perpetually disturbed. Under such influences an irritable, and almost justifiable sensitiveness to one another's progress would fester into unrelenting hatred. Our neighbour's good would become to us a curse. Among such communities there could be no love, and would be no real peace. To obstruct one another's growth would be deemed the perfection of policy. Slight collisions of interest, which must perpetually recur, would be exaggerated by jealousy and hatred into unpardonable wrongs; and unprincipled statesmen would find little difficulty in swelling imaginary grievances into causes of war. When we look at the char-

acteristic spirit of this country, stimulated as it is by our youth and capacities of improvement, we cannot conceive of more active springs of contention and hatred, than would be created at once by our disunion into separate nations.

We proceed to the second and a very important consideration. Our possession of a common language, which is now an unspeakable good, would, in case of disunion, prove as great a calamity; for it would serve, above all things, to multiply jealousies and exasperate bad passions. In Europe, different nations, having each its own language, and comparatively small communication, can act but little on each other. Each expresses its own self-esteem and its scorn of other communities in writings, which seldom pass its own bounds, and which minister to its own vanity and prejudices without inflaming other states. But suppose this country broken up into contiguous nations, all speaking the same language, all enjoying unrestrained freedom of the press, and all giving utterance to their antipathies and recriminations in newspapers, which would fly through all on the wings of the winds. Who can set bounds to the madness which such agents of mischief would engender? It is a fact, too well known, that feelings of animosity among us towards Great Britain, have been kept alive chiefly by a few publications from the latter country, which have been read by a very small part of our population. What then are we to expect in case of our disunion, when the daily press of each nation would pour forth on the neighbouring communities unceasing torrents of calumny, satire, ridicule, and invective? An exasperating article from the pen of a distinguished man in one republic, would in less than a week have found its way to every house and cottage in the adjoining States. The passions of a whole people would be kindled at one moment; and who of us can conceive the intensity of hatred which would grow from this continued, maddening interchange of intemperate and unmeasured abuse?

Another source of discord, in case of our separation, is almost too obvious to be mentioned. Once divided, we should form stronger bonds of union with foreign nations than with one another. That Europe would avail itself of our broken condition to establish an influence among us; that belligerents in the Old World would strive to enlist us in their quarrels; that our eagerness for commercial favors and monopolies would lay us open to their intrigues; that at every quarrel among

ourselves we should be willing to receive aid from abroad, and that distant nations would labor to increase our dependence upon themselves by inflaming and dividing us against each other ; these are considerations too obvious to need exposition, and as solemn and monitory as they are clear. From disunion, we should reap, in plentiful harvests, destructive enmities at home, and degrading subserviency to the powers of Europe.

We pass to another topic, particularly worthy of notice. In case of separation, party spirit, the worst foe of free states, would rage more furiously in each of the new and narrower communities than it now does in our extensive Union, and this spirit would not only spread deadly hatred through each republic, but would perpetually embroil it with its neighbours. We complain of party rage even now ; but it is mild and innocent compared with what we should experience, were our Union dissolved. Party spirit, when spread over a large country, is far less envenomed and ruinous than when shut up in small states. The histories of Greece and Rome are striking illustrations of this truth. In an extensive community, a party, depressed on one spot, finds sympathies and powerful protectors in another ; and if not, it finds more generous enemies at a distance, who mitigate the violence of its nearer foes. The fury attending elections is exceedingly allayed, by the knowledge that the issue does not depend on one or another city or district, and that failure in one place is not the loss of the cause. It may be added, that in a large country, party spirit is necessarily modified and softened by the diversity of interests, views, and characters, which must prevail among a widely scattered people. It is also no small advantage, that the leaders of parties will generally be separated from one another by considerable distances, will move in remote spheres, instead of facing each other, and engaging perpetually in personal debate and conflict. Suppose these circumstances reversed ; suppose the country broken into republics so small, as to admit a perfect unity and sympathy among the members of the same party, as to keep the leaders of opposite parties perpetually in one another's sight and hearing, as to make the fate of elections dependent on definite efforts and votes in particular places ; and who can calculate the increase of personal animosity, of private rancor, of public rage ? Nor would the spirit of party convulse only the separate communities. It would establish between them the most injurious relations. No passion seems to over-

power patriotism and moral sentiment more effectually than this spirit. Those whom it binds, seem to throw off all other bonds. Inflamed parties are most unscrupulous as to means. Under great excitement, they of course look round them on other communities to find means of ensuring triumph over their opponents. Of consequence, the political relations, which would subsist between the different republics that would spring up from our disunion, would be determined chiefly by party spirit; by a passion, which is most reckless of consequences, most prolific of discord, most prodigal of blood. Each republic would be broken into two factions, one in possession, and the other in pursuit of power, and both prepared to link themselves with the factions of their neighbours, and to sacrifice the peace and essential interests of the state to the gratification of ambition and revenge. Through such causes, operating in the Grecian republics, civil war added its horrors to foreign contests. We see nothing to avert from ourselves, if ever divided, the same unspeakable calamity.

In this exposition of the evils which would spring from disunion, we have spoken strongly, but, we trust, calmly. There is no need of exaggeration. It seems to us, that the imagination cannot easily exceed the truth. We do dread separation as the greatest of political evils, with the single exception of slavery. Undoubtedly a particular State may and ought to break the bond, if that bond is to be turned into a yoke of oppression. But much, very much should be endured before we expose ourselves to the calamities of separation. We particularly recommend the views which we have taken to those among us, whose interest in the Union is weakened by a vague idea, that a large community cannot be as well governed as a small. The reverse of this maxim, as we have seen, is true of a federal republic. Under despotisms, indeed, a vast territory may increase the sufferings of the people, because the sovereign at the centre, however well disposed, cannot spread himself to the extremities, and distant provinces are almost of necessity given up to the spoliations of irresponsible governors. But under the wise distribution of power in this country, we enjoy the watchful and minute protection of a local government, combined with the immense advantage of a wide spread community. Greater means of prosperity a people cannot enjoy. Let us not be defrauded of them by selfish or malignant passions.

From the remarks now made, it will at once be understood,

on what account chiefly we prize and would uphold our National Government. We prize it as our bond of union; as that which constitutes us one people; as preserving the different States from mutual jealousies and wars, and from separate alliances with foreign nations; as mitigating party spirit; in one word, as perpetuating our peace. So great, so inestimable is this good, that all other benefits and influences of the Federal Government seem to us as nothing. We would lay down this as the fundamental principle of its administration. The bearing of measures on our Union should be the chief aspect, under which they should be regarded by Congress. Taking this position, we are naturally led to some great maxims by which, as we conceive, our public affairs should be guided, and we now proceed to develop these, as well as to point out other means for securing our confederation.

In the first place, it seems to be important, that the administration of our government should be marked by the greatest possible simplicity. We hold this to be no unimportant means of perpetuating our Union. Laws and measures should be intelligible, founded on plain principles, and such as common minds may comprehend. This indeed is a maxim to be applied to republican governments universally. The essential idea of a republic is, that the sovereignty is in the people. In choosing representatives they do not devolve the supreme power on others. By the frequency of elections, they are called to pass judgment on their representatives. It is essential to this mode of government, that through a free press, all public measures should be brought before the tribunal of the people. Of course a refined and subtle policy, or a complicated legislation, which cannot be understood but by laborious research and reasoning, is hostile to the genius of republican institutions. Laws should be plain and few, intended to meet obvious wants, and such as are clearly required by the great interests of the community. For ourselves, we are satisfied that all governments without exception can adopt no safer rule, than the simplicity which we have now recommended. The crying sin of all governments is, that they intermeddle injuriously with human affairs, and obstruct the processes of nature by excessive regulation. To us, society is such a complicated concern, its interests are affected by so many and such subtle causes, there are so many secret springs at work in its bosom, and such

uncertainty hangs over the distant issues of human arrangements, that we are astonished and shocked at the temerity of legislators in interposing their contrivances and control, except where events and experience shed a clear light. Above all, in a country like our own, where public measures are to be judged by millions of people, scattered over a vast territory, and most of whom are engaged in laborious occupations, we know not a plainer principle, than that the domestic and foreign policy of government should be perspicuous and founded on obvious reasons, so that plain cases may in the main, if not always, be offered to popular decision. Measures, which demand profound thought for their justification, about which intelligent and honest men differ, and the usefulness of which cannot be made out to the common mind, are unfit for a republic. If in this way important national advantages should be sometimes lost, we ought to submit to the evil as inseparable from our institutions, and should comfort ourselves with thinking, that Providence never bestows an unmixed good, that the best form of government has its inconveniences, and that a people, possessing freedom, can afford to part with many means of immediate wealth. We have no fear, however, that a people will ever suffer by a rigid application of our rule. Legislators cannot feel too deeply the delicacy of their work, and their great ignorance of the complicated structure and of the multiplied and secret relations of the social state; and they ought not to hasten, nay, more, they ought to distrust a policy, to the justice and wisdom of which the suffrage of public opinion cannot be decidedly and intelligently secured. In our republic, the aim of Congress should be to stamp its legislation with all possible simplicity, and to abstain from measures, which, by their complication, obscurity, and uncertainty, must distract the public mind, and throw it into agitation and angry controversy. Let it be their aim to cast among the people as few brands of discord as possible; and for this end, let the spirit of adventurous theory be dismissed, and the spirit of modesty, caution, and prudent simplicity preside over legislation. In these remarks we have not forgotten that there are exigences, in which government is compelled to determine its course without delay, amidst great hazards, and in a stormy, distracted state of the public mind. But these are exceptions to the ordinary course of human affairs, and to these, the principle which we have advanced, is not to be applied.

We here proceed to another principle, still more important

to the preservation of the Union. The General Government should correspond to its name ; that is, should be general, or universal, in its spirit and operations. It should be characterized by nothing so strikingly as by impartiality, by the absence of sectional feeling, by a solicitude to distribute equally the public burdens, and to extend equal benefits to all members of the confederation. On this principle the Union chiefly depends. In a free community the strongest of all feelings is a jealousy of rights, and states cannot be long held together, if it shall be thought, that the power given for the general weal, is, through intrigue and selfish combinations, perverted to build up a portion of the confederacy at the expense of the rest. No stronger argument can be urged against a public measure, than that it has the appearance of a partial or unequal bearing on the country, or seems to indicate a disposition in the majority to sacrifice the common good to factious or sectional views. To guard against the jealousies of the States, should be the most anxious desire of our national legislators, and for this purpose they should aim to restrict themselves to general objects in which all may find a benefit, to refrain from touching narrow or local interests, especially those between which a rivalry subsists, to proportion the pressure of taxation according to the most rigorous justice, to watch equally over the rights of all, and to exact no sacrifices but such as the common good plainly demands.

A weighty argument for limiting government to the simple and general legislation which we have now recommended, though not intimately connected with our main subject, deserves a brief notice. It is found in the great and growing extent of the country. The attention of Congress is already distracted and overwhelmed by the multiplicity of affairs, and every session it is more and more in danger of neglecting its proper objects and doing nothing well. We fear that the most pressing business is the most frequently postponed. We refer to the claims of individuals on the government ; and we call these the most pressing concerns, because the man who has been wronged by by an unanticipated operation of the laws or of any public measures, has a right to immediate redress, and because delay of justice may be his ruin. Already we hear angry complaint and derision of the inefficiency of Congress, and the evil will increase, until that body shall select from a bewildering crowd of applications, its appropriate objects, and shall confine itself to a legislation demanded by the general voice, and by the obvious wants of the community.

The principles of legislation now laid down, seem to us to have an important bearing on two great questions, which have already agitated the country, and which, we fear, bode no good to the Union. We refer to the restrictive system and to internal improvement. The first, which proposes to protect certain branches of domestic industry, seems to us singularly wanting in that simplicity and impartiality, which, as we have said, should characterize our legislation. It cannot be understood by the mass of the people, and it will certainly divide them. In the first place, the restrictive system involves a Constitutional difficulty. We of this region, indeed, generally concede to Congress the right of limiting trade in general or of annihilating particular branches of it, for the encouragement of domestic industry ; but the argument for a narrower construction of the Constitution is certainly specious, and certainly strong enough to give to those on whom a tariff may press heavily, the consciousness of being wronged. In the next place, the general question of the expediency of restriction must be allowed by its advocates to be a difficult one. The growing light of the age certainly seems to oppose it, and the statements and reasonings by which it is defended, even if founded in truth, are yet so intricate and so open to objection, that vast numbers even of the enlightened cannot be satisfied of their validity. But supposing restriction to be admitted, the question as to its extent, as to the kinds of industry which shall be protected, as to the branches of trade which shall be sacrificed, this question is the most perplexing which can be offered to popular discussion, and cannot fail to awaken cupidity, jealousy, and hatred. From the nature of the case, the protection must be unequally extended, nor can any wisdom balance the losses to which different States will be exposed. A restrictive tariff is necessarily a source of discord. To some portions of the country it must be an evil, nor will they suffer patiently. Disadvantages imposed by nature, communities will bear, but not those which are brought on them by legislation. We have indeed various objections to the whole system of protection. We believe it to be deceptive throughout. We also oppose it, on the ground that our country in adopting it, abandons its true and honorable position. To this country, above all others, belongs, as its primary duty and interest, the support of liberal principles. It has nothing in its institutions congenial with the maxims of barbarous ages, with the narrow, monopolizing, restrictive legislation of antiquated despotisms. Freedom, in all its

forms, is our life, strength, prosperity; and every system at war with it, however speciously maintained, is a contradiction to our characters, and, wanting harmony with our spirit, must take something, however silently, from the energy of the institutions which hold us together. As citizens of the world, we grieve that this country should help to prolong prejudices, which even monarchy is outgrowing; should, in imitation of meddling despotisms, undertake to direct the industry and capital of the citizen, and especially should lose sight of that sublime object of philanthropy, the promotion of free unrestricted commerce through the world. As patriots, we grieve that a precedent has been afforded for a kind of legislation, which, if persisted in, will almost certainly loosen, and may rupture, the Union. The principal excellence of the late tariff is, that it is so constructed as to please no one, that even its friends pronounce it an abomination; for by offending and injuring all, it excites less animosity in the principal sufferers. Tariffs never will be impartial. They will always, in a greater or less degree, be the results of selfish combinations of private and public men, through which a majority will be secured to particular interests; and such is the blindness of avarice, that to grasp a shortlived partial good, the infinite blessings of union will be hazarded, and may be thrown away.

If we may be allowed a short digression, we would say, that we have no partiality to tariffs of any kind, not even to those which are laid on imports for the purpose of raising revenue. We suppose that they are necessary at present, especially where they have become the habit of the people, and we are not insensible to the facility they afford for collecting the revenue. But we should rejoice, if by some great improvement in finance, every custom house could be shut from Maine to Louisiana. The interests of human nature require that every fetter should be broken from the intercourse of nations, that the most distant countries should exchange all their products, whether of manual or intellectual labor, as freely as the members of the same community. An unrestricted commerce we regard as the most important means of diffusing through the world, knowledge, arts, comforts, civilization, religion, and liberty; and to this great cause we would have our country devoted. We will add that we attach no importance to what is deemed the chief benefit of tariffs, that they save the necessity of direct taxation, and draw from a people a large revenue without their

knowledge. In the first place, we say, that a free people ought to know what they pay for freedom, and to pay it joyfully, and that they should as truly scorn to be cheated into the support of their government, as into the support of their children. In the next place, a large revenue is no blessing. An overflowing treasury will always be corrupting to the governors and the governed. A revenue, rigorously proportioned to the wants of a people, is as much as can be trusted safely to men in power. The only valid argument against substituting direct for indirect taxation, is the difficulty of ascertaining with precision the property of the citizen. Happy would it be for us, could tariffs be done away, for with them would be abolished fruitful causes of national jealousies, of war, of perjury, of smuggling, of innumerable frauds and crimes, and of harassing restraint on that commerce which should be free as the winds.

We consider many of the remarks made in reference to tariffs as applicable to internal improvements. These also involve a Constitutional question of no small difficulty; and it seems impossible that they should be prosecuted with any degree of impartiality. We will not say, that an extensive system of internal improvements, comprehending and connecting the whole country, and promising great, manifest, and universal good, may not be framed. But let Congress propose narrow, local improvements, and we need no prophet to foretell the endless and ever multiplying intrigues, the selfish combinations, the jealousies, and discontents which will follow by a necessity as sure as the laws of nature. An irresistible temptation will be offered to unprincipled bargains between states and legislators, and the treasury, sending out partial streams, will become a fountain of bitterness and discord.

Let it not be said, that most of the proposed improvements are designed to promote intercourse, and that thus they favor what we conceive to be the great end of government, by binding us together. We answer, that the General Government already promotes intercourse incomparably more than all other causes combined, and we are unwilling to put to hazard this actual beneficent influence by striving to extend it. Government already does more for this object than all the canals, railroads and other internal improvements, which human ingenuity can devise, and this it does by that negative influence, which, as we have often said, is its chief function. This it does by making us one people, by preserving us from being

broken into different communities, by preventing those obstructions to a free interchange of commodities, which, in case of disunion, would at once rise up between us; by preserving us from national rivalries, from the war of tariffs, and from open and ruinous hostility. We grant that cases may occur, in which national advantage may be lost, or useful objects delayed, for want of positive interference of government in the work of internal improvement. But the wisdom of nations, like that of individuals, consists very much in a willingness to forego near and inferior benefits for permanent security. We have however little apprehension of much injury resulting from the forbearance of government in this particular. Let Congress hold us together, and keep us in peace, and the spirit of the people will not slumber. It will pour itself forth through our state governments, through corporations, and through individual enterprise; and who that observes what it has already done can set limits to its efficiency? Since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, nothing has contributed so much to extend intercourse through the States as the invention of steamboats. No legislation, and no possible direction of the revenue to public improvements, could have effected so much as the steam engine; and this was contrived, perfected, and applied to navigation by the genius and wealth of individuals. Next to this agent, the most important service to internal communication has been rendered by the New York canal, and this was the work of a State. With such examples, we need not fear, that our progress will be arrested by the confinement of the General Government to general objects. We are not sure, that, were every objection which we have stated removed, we should be anxious to interest our national legislature in public improvements. As a people, we want no new excitement. Our danger rather is from overaction, from impatient and selfish enterprise, from feverish energy, from too rapid growth, rather than from stagnation and lethargy. A calm, sober, steady government is what we chiefly need. May it be kept from the hands of theorists and speculators.

We have not yet exhausted the question, how government may best strengthen and perpetuate our Union. There is one of its establishments, which, in this point of view, we highly value, and which we fear is not sufficiently prized for the highest benefit which it confers. We refer to the Post Office. The facilities which this institution affords to the government for com-

munication with all parts of the country, are probably regarded by many as the most important national service which it renders. But it does incomparably more for us as a community. It does much towards making us one, by admitting free communication between distant parts of the country, which no other channel of intercourse could bring together. It binds the whole country in a chain of sympathies, and makes it in truth one great neighbourhood. It promotes a kind of society between the seashore and the mountains. It perpetuates friendships between those who are never to meet again. It binds the family in the new settlement and the half cleared forest to the cultivated spot from which it emigrated. It facilitates, beyond calculation, commercial connexions, and the interchange of products. On this account, we always grieve to see a statement of the revenue accruing to government from the Post Office. It ought not to yield a cent to the treasury. It should simply support itself. Such importance do we attach to the freest communication between all parts of the country, so much do we desire that the poor, as well as rich, may enjoy the means of intercourse, that we would sooner have the Post Office a tax on the revenue, than one of its sources.

We pass to another method by which the government is to strengthen the Union. We know not a more important one. It is, to give dignity and independence to the National Judiciary. Let Congress feel, let the people feel, that to this department the security of the Union is especially committed, that it is the great preservative power among our institutions, and that its sanctity cannot be too jealously protected. Its office is, to settle peacefully the questions between the different States and their citizens, which, without it, would be settled by arms. What beneficence and dignity belong to this function! Nor is this all. It affords to citizens, who feel themselves aggrieved by what they deem an unconstitutional law, the means of peaceful resistance. It gives them an opportunity of being heard before a tribunal, on which the most solemn obligations to justice are laid, and which is eminently fitted to be an umpire between the citizen and the legislature. We know not how government can contribute more effectually to its own stability, than by reverencing and guarding the rights of the National Judiciary. A Congress, which should trench on its independence, ought to be counted guilty of a species of sacrilege.

From considering the importance of the Judiciary to our Union, we are naturally led to another department of the gov-

ernment, and one which is particularly worthy of attention, because at the present moment it seems to menace our confederation more seriously than any other cause. We refer to the Executive Department. We refer to the struggles which the election to the presidency has again and again provoked. These are too solemn and fearful to be overlooked. A remedy must be found, or the country will be thrown into perpetual convulsions, and split into factions devoted each to a chief. We shall waste ourselves in struggles for a few leaders, who by their prominence will become dearer to a people than their institutions, and in fighting for our favorites we may become their slaves.

This evil we regard as a growing one; and we know but one remedy for it. The people must acquire a just self-respect. This they want. It has been repressed by false notions about government which have come down from ages of monarchy. The spirit of freedom, of which we so much boast, has not yet given a due elevation of sentiment to the community; and therefore the community basely binds itself to leaders as if they were its superiors. A people should understand its own greatness and dignity too well to attach much importance to any individual. It should regard no individual as necessary to it, nor should it suffer any one to urge his claims on its gratitude. It should feel, that it has a right to the services of its members, and that there is no member, with whose services it cannot dispense. It should have no idols, no favorites. It should annihilate with its frown, those who would monopolize its power, or bring it into subserviency to their own glory. No man's name should be much on its lips. It should bind up in no man its prosperity and honor.

A free community, indeed, has need of a presiding officer but it depends on no individual as alone fitted for the office; and still more, it needs a President, not to be its master, but to express and execute its own will. This last thought is fundamental, and never to be forgotten. The only law of a free people is the will of the majority, or public sentiment, and to collect, embody, utter, and execute this, is the great end of its civil institutions. Self-government is its great attribute, its supreme distinction, and this gives to office in a free state an entirely different character from what it possesses in despotic countries. The difference however is overlooked among us, and the same importance is attached to office, as if it conferred absolute power.

We repeat it, the supreme law in a free state is its own will, and consequently, among such a people, the highest power does not necessarily belong to him, who is clothed with office, but to him, who does most, in whatever sphere, to guide and determine the public mind. Office is a secondary influence, and indeed its most enviable distinction consists in the opportunities which it affords for swaying the opinions and purposes of the community. The nominal legislator is not always the real one. He is often the organ of superior minds, and, if the people be truly free, his chief function is, to give form and efficiency to the general will. Even in monarchies, where a free press is enjoyed, the power passes more and more from the public functionary to the master spirits who frame the nation's mind. Thus the pen of Burke rivalled the sceptre of his sovereign. The progress of freedom and of society is marked by this fact, that official gives place to personal, intellectual, and moral dignity. It is a bad omen, where office is thought the supreme good, and where a people sees in the public functionary, not an organ of its own will, but a superior being, on whom its peace and happiness depend.

We mean not to deny the necessity of office. We know that the President fills an important place. We know that the community has an interest in his integrity and wisdom, and that it is disgraced and injured by placing an incompetent or unprincipled man in the most conspicuous station. To the President are confided important functions, but not such functions as can be discharged only by one or two individuals in the country, not such as ought to make him an object of idolatry or dread, not such as should draw to him any extraordinary homage, not such as to justify intense desire in the candidate, or intense excitement in the people. Under institutions, really free, no office can exist, which deserves the struggles of ambition. Did our Constitution create such an office, it would prove its authors to have been blind or false to their country's dignity and rights. But that noble charter is open to no such reproach. The presidency, the highest function in the state, is exceedingly bounded by the Constitution, and still more by the spirit of the community. A President has been, and may often be, one of the least efficient men in the government. We need not go far for proof. In both houses of Congress there were men, whose influence over the country was greater than that of the last President. He indeed contributed to keep the wheel of government in mo-

tion. But we ask, What new impulse did he give it? What single important measure did he originate? Was there a man in office more fettered and thwarted. We talk of the administrations of Mr Monroe and Mr Adams. We ask, what impression of themselves have they left on legislation and on public affairs? They gave no spring to the public mind. A popular senator or representative did more to sway the community. And this is as it should be. We rejoice, that official influence is so restricted, that the people are not mere echoes of a single voice, that no man can master his fellow citizens, that there is a general, all pervading intelligence, which modifies, controls, and often neutralizes, the opinion and will of the highest public functionary.

We have spoken of the presidency as it has actually existed, and as it must in a great measure exist whilst we are free; and yet, through a delusion which has come down from past ages, this office, so limited in power, so obstructed by the legislative branches and by public opinion, which is conferred on the individual at the longest but for eight years, and from which he retires to a seclusion, where scarcely an eye follows, or a voice of approbation cheers him, this office, to our disgrace, is coveted by an insane ambition, as if it were an hereditary throne, and the people are as much excited and disturbed, when called to fill it, as if they were choosing a master for life at whose feet the country was to be laid an unprotected victim. To our shame be it said, for the last eight years every interest of the nation has been postponed to the comparatively inferior concern of choosing a President. The national legislature, forgetting its appointment to watch over the general weal, has wasted and worse than wasted its annual sessions in intrigues for the advancement of rival candidates. The most important measures have been discussed and decided, not with reference to the country, but chiefly according to their bearings on what has been called the presidential election. So sadly have we wanted the self-respect which belongs to freemen! In these disgraceful transactions, in this shameful excitement spread through the community, we see that as a people we have not drunk as deeply as we imagine into the lofty spirit of liberty. In proportion as a people become free, in proportion as public sentiment reigns, office ceases to be a distinction, political ambition expires, the prizes of political ambition are withdrawn, the self-respect of the people preserves it from bowing to favorites or

idols. Whilst it is the characteristic of despotism, that the ruler is everything and the people comparatively nothing, the reverse is the grand distinction of a free state. This distinction we have yet to learn; and it cannot be learned too thoroughly. Unless we are preserved by a just self-respect from dividing into factions for the elevation of leaders, we shall hold our Union and our rights by a very uncertain tenure. Better were it to choose a President by lot from a hundred names to which each State shall contribute its fair proportion, than repeat the degrading struggle through which we have recently passed.

We close this topic by entreating our citizens to remember the great argument in favor of hereditary monarchy. It may be expressed in few words. 'The highest office in a nation,' says the monarchist, 'ought to be hereditary, because it is an object too dazzling and exciting to be held up for competition. Such a prize, offered to the aspiring, must inflame to madness the lust of power, and engender perpetual strife. A people having such a gift to bestow will be exposed to perpetual arts and machinations. Its passions will never be allowed to sleep. Factions, headed by popular chiefs and exasperated by conflict, will at length resort to force, and in the storms which will follow, the Constitution will be prostrated, and the supreme power be the prey of a successful usurper. The peace and stability of a nation demand, that the supreme power should be placed above rivalry, and beyond the hopes of ambition, and this can only be done by making it hereditary.' Such is the grand argument in favor of monarchy. As a people, we have done too much to confirm it. It is time that we proved ourselves more loyal to freedom. We shall do well to remember, that a republic, broken into parties which have the chief magistracy for their aim, and thrown into perpetual agitation by the rivalry of popular leaders, is lending a mournful testimony to the reasonings of monarchists, and accelerating the fulfilment of their sinister forebodings.

Much remains to be said of the means of perpetuating the Union, and of the dangers to which it is exposed. But we want time to prosecute the subject. The injuries, with which the confederation is menaced by party spirit and a sectional spirit are too obvious to need exposition. The importance of a national literature to our Union and honor deserves particular consideration. But the topic is too great for our present limits, and we reserve it for future discussion.

We intended to close this article with some remarks on the conduct of the different parties in this country in relation to the Union, for the purpose of showing that all have occasionally been wanting in fidelity to it. But the subject would necessarily expand itself beyond the space allowed us. Still we cannot wholly abandon it. One branch of it is particularly recommended to us by the Correspondence at the head of this review. The merits or the demerits of the Federal party in respect to our Union, seem to be in a measure forced on our consideration; and we are the more willing to give a few thoughts to the topic, because we think that we understand it, and because we trust that we can treat it dispassionately. Our attachment to this party we have no desire to conceal; but our ideas of the allegiance due to a party are exceedingly liberal. We claim the privilege of censuring those with whom we generally agree; and we indignantly disclaim the obligation of justifying in the mass whatever they may please to do. Of the Federalists therefore we shall speak freely. We have no desire to hide what we deem to be their errors. They belong now to history, and the only question is, how their history may be made most useful to their country and to the cause of freedom. Before we proceed, however, we beg to remark, that in this, as in every part of the present review, we write from our own convictions alone, that we hold no communication with political leaders, and that we are far from being certain of the reception which our views will meet from our best friends.

A purer party than that of the Federalists, we believe, never existed under any government. Like all other combinations it indeed contained weak and bad men. In its prosperity, it drew to itself seekers for office. Still when we consider that it enjoyed the confidence of Washington to his last hour; that its leaders were his chosen friends; that it supported and strengthened his whole administration; that it participated with him in the proclamation and system of neutrality, through which that great man served his country as effectually as during the revolutionary war; when we consider, that it contributed chiefly to the organization of the Federal Government in the civil, judicial, financial, military, and naval departments; that it carried the country safely and honorably through the most tempestuous days of the French revolution; that it withstood the frenzied tendencies of multitudes to alliance with that power, and that it averted war with Great Britain during a period,

when such a war would have bowed us into ruinous subserviency to the despot of France ; when we consider these things, we feel, that the debt of this country to the Federal party is never to be extinguished.

Still we think that this party in some respects failed of its duty to the cause of the Union and of freedom. But it so failed, not through treachery ; for truer spirits the world could not boast. It failed through despondence. Here was the rock on which Federalism split. Too many of its leading men wanted a just confidence in our free institutions and in the moral ability of the people to uphold them. Appalled by the excesses of the French revolution, by the extinction of liberty in that republic, and by the fanaticism with which the cause of France was still espoused among ourselves, they began to despair of their own country. The sympathies of the majority of our people with the despotism of France were indeed a fearful symptom. There seemed a fascination in that terrible power. An insane admiration for the sworn foe of freedom, joined with as deadly a hatred towards England, so far pervaded the country, that to the Federalists we seemed enlisted as a people on the side of despotism, and fated to sink under its yoke. That they had cause for fear, we think. That they were criminal in the despondence to which they yielded, we also believe. They forgot, that great perils call on us for renewed efforts, and for increased sacrifices in a good cause. That some of them considered the doom of the country as sealed, we have reason to believe. Some, disappointed and irritated, were accustomed to speak in bitter scorn of institutions, which, bearing the name of free, had proved unable to rescue us from base subserviency to an all-menacing despot. The Federalists as a body wanted a just confidence in our national institutions. They wanted that faith, which hopes against hope, and which freedom should inspire. Here was their sin, and it brought its penalty ; for through this more than any cause, they were driven from power. By not confiding in the community, they lost its confidence. By the depressed tone with which they spoke of liberty, their attachment to it became suspected. The taint of antirepublican tendencies was fastened upon them by their opponents, and this reproach no party could survive.

We know not in what manner we can better communicate our views of the Federal party, of its merits and defects, than by referring to that distinguished man, who was so long prominent

in its ranks ; we mean the late George Cabot. If any man in this region deserved to be called its leader, it was he, and a stronger proof of its political purity, cannot be imagined, than is found in the ascendancy which this illustrious individual maintained over it. He was the last man to be charged with a criminal ambition. His mind rose far above office. The world had no station which would have tempted him from private life. But in private life, he exerted the sway which is the worthiest prize of a lofty ambition. He was consulted with something of the respect which was paid to an ancient oracle, and no mind among us contributed so much to the control of public affairs. It is interesting to inquire by what intellectual attributes he gained this influence ; and as his character now belongs to history, perhaps we may render no unacceptable service in delineating its leading features.

We think, that he was distinguished by nothing so much as by the power of ascending to general principles, and by the reverence and constancy with which he adhered to them. The great truths of history and experience, the immutable laws of human nature, according to which all measures should be framed, shone on his intellectual eye with an unclouded brightness. No impatience of present evils, no eagerness for immediate good, ever tempted him to think, that these might be forsaken with impunity. To these he referred all questions on which he was called to judge, and accordingly his conversation had a character of comprehensive wisdom, which, joined with his urbanity, secured to him a singular sway over the minds of his hearers. With such a mind, he of course held in contempt the temporary expedients, and motley legislation of commonplace politicians. He looked with singular aversion on everything factitious, forced, and complicated in policy. We have understood, that by the native strength and simplicity of his mind, he anticipated the lights, which philosophy and experience have recently thrown on the importance of leaving enterprise, industry, and commerce free. He carried into politics the great axiom which the ancient sages carried into morals, 'Follow Nature.' In an age of reading, he leaned less than most men on books. A more independent mind our country perhaps has not produced. When we think of his whole character, when with the sagacity of his intellect we combine the integrity of his heart, the dignified grace of his manners, and the charm of his conversation, we hardly know

the individual, with the exception of Washington, whom we should have offered more willingly to a foreigner as a specimen of the men whom America can produce.

Still we think, that his fine qualities were shaded by what to us is a great defect, though to some it may appear a proof of his wisdom. He wanted a just faith in man's capacity of freedom, at least in that degree of it which our institutions suppose. He inclined to dark views of the condition and prospects of his country. He had too much the wisdom of experience. He wanted, what may be called, the wisdom of hope. In man's past history he read too much what is to come, and measured our present capacity of political good too much by the unsuccessful experiments of former times. We apprehend, that it is possible to make experience too much our guide ; and such was the fault of this distinguished man. There are seasons, in human affairs, of inward and outward revolution, when new depths seem to be broken up in the soul, when new wants are unfolded in multitudes, and a new and undefined good is thirsted for. These are periods, when the principles of experience need to be modified, when hope and trust and instinct claim a share with prudence in the guidance of affairs, when in truth *to dare* is the highest wisdom. Now in the distinguished man of whom we speak, there was little or nothing of that enthusiasm, which, we confess, seems to us sometimes the surest light. He lived in the past when the impulse of the age was towards the future. He was slow to promise himself any great melioration of human affairs ; and whilst singularly successful in discerning the actual good, which results from the great laws of nature and Providence, he gave little hope, that this good was to be essentially enlarged. To such a man, the issue of the French revolution was a confirmation of the saddest lessons of history, and these lessons he applied too faithfully to his own country. His influence in communicating sceptical, disheartening views of human affairs, seems to us to have been so important as to form a part of our history, and it throws much light on what we deem the great political error of the Federalists.

That the Federalists did at one period look with an unworthy despondence on our institutions, is true. Especially when they saw the country, by a declaration of war against England, virtually link itself with that despotism which menaced the whole civilized world, their hearts sunk within them, and we doubt not that in some cases, their mixed anger and gloom

broke forth in reckless speeches, which, to those who are ignorant of the workings of the passions, might seem to argue a scorn for the confederation and for all its blessings. So far they failed of their duty, for a good citizen is never to despair of the republic, never to think freedom a lost cause.

The political sin of the Federal party we have stated plainly. In the other great party, examples of unfaithfulness to the Union might also be produced. Whoever reverts to the language of Virginia on the subject of the alien and sedition laws, or to the more recent proceedings and declarations of Georgia in respect to the Indian territories within her jurisdiction, or to the debates and resolutions of the legislature of South Carolina at its last session, will learn, that a sense of the sacredness of the Union and of the greatness of its blessings, is but faintly apprehended, even by that party which boasts of unfaltering adherence to it.

In closing this article, we are aware that we have said much, in which many of our fellow citizens will not concur. Men of all parties will probably dissent from some of our positions. But has not the time come, when the vassalage of party may be thrown off? when we may speak of the past and present, without asking whether our opinion will be echoed by this or that class of politicians? when we may cease to condemn and justify in the mass? when a more liberal and elevated style of discussion may be introduced? when we may open our eyes on the faults of our friends, and may look at subjects which involve our country's welfare in the broad clear light of day? This style of discussion, we are anxious to promote; and we feel, that whoever may encourage and diffuse it, will deserve a place among the most faithful friends of freedom.

NOTE. In the remarks made in this article on the restrictive system, our intention was, to assert the general principles, which, in our opinion, ought to have guided our legislators from the beginning, and which ought to guide them now, as far as they can be applied in consistency with the past measures of Congress. Whether by these measures the government has not contracted an obligation to the citizen, or whether, after imposing a tariff for the purpose of encouraging certain branches of industry, it can justly withdraw protection, is a question, which did not come within our subject, and which is to be determined by a different order of considerations.

ART. III.—*Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland, with Descriptive Illustrations.* By Sir WALTER SCOTT, Bart. London and Edinburgh. 2 vols. 4to. 1826.

THIS is a beautiful book, got up in the first style of art, and greatly enhanced in value by the name of Sir Walter Scott, the contributor of the descriptive text. Of the interest which this name alone would give to their undertaking, the publishers were no doubt well aware. Nor could they have applied to a more proper person for their purpose in every respect; for there is not, it is probable, in all Scotland, one better versed than he in its history and antiquities. And while he was the best qualified and most popular man for such a task, he could also despatch it on the shortest notice; for it must have been a mere pastime for his wonderful and versatile genius, and an employment only for the loose scraps of his time, to furnish the letter press for these splendid quartos. The materials were all, doubtless, in his memory, or under his eye, or within his immediate reach.

The power of Sir Walter of conferring interest on any subject which he takes up, is pleasantly exemplified in the work before us, the descriptive, historical, and genealogical details of which are wonderfully relieved by the anecdotes and pithy digressions which he liberally scatters over its pages. One or two instances in point may give entertainment to our readers.

In describing Merchiston Tower, the seat of the ancient family of Napier, which is situated about a mile and a half from Edinburgh, he gives the following notices of the most distinguished member of that family. After a short sketch of the feuds and bloody skirmishes of which Merchiston Tower had been the witness in elder times, he thus continues;—

‘We have touched on these sad times, to illustrate the history of the country. But it is not from the petty incidents of a cruel civil war that Merchiston derives its renown, but as having been the residence of genius and of science. The celebrated John Napier of Merchiston was born in this weather beaten tower, according to the best accounts, about the year 1550; and a small room in the summit of the building is pointed out as the study in which he secluded himself while engaged in the mathematical researches which led to his great discovery.

‘To the inventor of the Logarithms, (called from him Napier’s

bones,) by which process the power of calculation is so much increased, David Hume, no granter of propositions, declares the title of a great man is more justly due, than to any other whom his country ever produced. Yet the sublime genius which marked, by the logarithmic canon, the correspondence betwixt arithmetical and geometrical progression, had his weak points.' — 'Neither was the great Napier above the superstition of his age, but believed in the connexion betwixt the mathematical and what were called the occult sciences. At least, all we know of his character inclines us rather to believe that Napier was a dupe to his own imagination, than that he desired to impose upon the opposite party, in a celebrated and very curious contract made in July 1594, betwixt him and the noted John Logan of Restalrig. This person, renowned for his turbid ambition and dark cupidity, by which he was finally involved in Gowrie's strange and mysterious conspiracy, sets forth, that from all reports and appearances, there was treasure concealed in his old ruinous fortress of Fast Castle, on the verge of the German Ocean, near St Abbs-Head; and stipulates that "John Napier should do his utmost diligence to search and seek out, and by all craft and engine to find out the same, and by the grace of God shall either find out the same, or make it sure that no such thing is there." For his reward he was to have the exact third of what was found, and to be safely guarded by Logan back to Edinburgh, with the same. And in case he should find nothing, after all trial and diligence taken, he refers the satisfaction of his travel and pains to the discretion of Logan.'

Vol. I. pp. 93, 95.

In another place, our author tells us that the fate of this investigation is unknown. 'The contract,' he adds, 'evinces much credulity on the part of the great Napier; but the bounds of knowledge were then so indistinctly fixed, that there lay a waste of terra incognita between physical science and mystical doctrines, in which the wisest philosophers often are found to have bewildered themselves.'

There are some remarks on church architecture, in Sir Walter's account of Edinburgh, which are completely applicable to many churches that we know of, on this side of the water.

'The West Church, or Saint Cuthbert's, is another clumsy structure, but fortunately stands much out of sight. A circumstance happened with respect to this church, and to more than one besides, which singularly illustrates the proverb, that Scots-

men are ever wise behind the hand. When the heritors had chosen the cheapest, or at least the ugliest plan which was laid before them, had seen it executed, and were at leisure to contemplate the ground cumbered with a great heavy oblong barn, with huge disproportioned windows, they repented of the enormity which they had sanctioned, and endeavoured to repair their error by building a steeple, in a style of ornamented and florid architecture; as if the absurd finery of such an appendage could relieve the heaviness of the principal building, which is only rendered more deformed by the contrast. It may be hoped, that the number of excellent architects who have lately arisen in this country will introduce a better taste among their patrons; and it would be especially desirable to convince those concerned, that beauty or elegance in architecture depends not upon ornament, but upon symmetry; and that in truth a handsome and tasteful plan may often be executed at less expense than one which shall, so long as the building stands, entail disgrace on all who have had to do with it.' Vol. II. p. 115.

Change 'heritors' into 'building committee,' and the above observations might be inserted, almost entire, into a Picture of Boston. Church after church has been erected in our city with the same 'behind the hand' wisdom so neatly commented upon by Scott. Our fine granite is disgraced, and even bricks are ill treated, by the forms in which they are often piled. If we cannot originate tasteful plans, we have at least some models of a former day among us, which we could wholly or partially imitate. For instance, there is the Episcopal Church at Cambridge. Its symmetry is a proverb; and its simplicity equals its symmetry. Why can it not be copied? It is built of wood, and therefore cannot last very long itself, even with steady repair. Why cannot its proportions be perpetuated in some more durable material? The eye of any one may tell him, that stone, or brick and mortar, could not be more cheaply put together than in its chaste and simple forms. But no. Instead of copying this beauty of Cambridge Common, we must be original. Plans are spread out before the committee; the ugliest, if not cheapest one is selected; and the result is 'a great heavy oblong barn.' Then comes the ornament—perhaps a tall steeple, which would be very well, if we could see nothing else; or a belfry, which would look very suitably on a schoolhouse; and there is generally a plenty of stucco work inside, with a profusion of crimson damask about the pulpit window. By the time all this is completed, the committee

commonly find, that if there is nothing else handsome about their church, it has cost them quite a handsome sum; and this, with a few gratifying exceptions, is our way of building churches.

Our country is a new one. We possess not a single object like those glorious ruins which are represented in the work before us. We ought then to take more than common care that the buildings which we raise for ourselves and posterity, may be such that they may be contemplated with complacency, if not delight, instead of being passed by with indifference, derision, or disgust.

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- ART. IV.—1. *Pelham, or Adventures of a Gentleman*. 2 vols. 12mo. New York. J. & J. Harper. 1829.
2. *The Disowned*. By the AUTHOR OF PELHAM. 2 vols. 12mo. New York. J. & J. Harper. 1829.

WE shall not enter very largely into the question as to the effect of novel reading, but we are tempted to say, that this question is in general too broadly stated. Doubtless the habit of novel reading is injurious, for in its ordinary acceptance, it means an exclusive reading of works of mere amusement without judgment or selection; and it is sufficiently clear, that this constant excitement of the mind, this living upon luxuries, would soon destroy the vigor of the intellect and feelings, even if novels were, which no one pretends, books to which we should go to borrow correct views of life and duty. But it is quite too much to say that it is injurious to read them under all circumstances, and at all times. To this broad maxim *Rasselas* and the *Vicar of Wakefield*, have long been a standing reply. The practical question, therefore, must be cut down to this; Are the novels which have taken their place in English literature, and those which the press is now sending out with such unrelenting liberality, works calculated to benefit or injure those who read them as works of amusement should be read? The answer is in many respects humbling, and the two works before us add nothing to our pride.

Some, we know, are disposed to find fault with these works because they are fictions. An unfortunate association with that harmless word, makes them treat all fiction as false-

hood. But there can be no very criminal deception in works which profess to be inventions merely, not pretending to be true to fact, but claiming the praise of being true to nature. Rousseau, according to his usual practice of straining at the gnat, as a sort of apology for making others swallow the camel, makes the same objection to fables. But the worst result we can imagine from the use of them, is, that a child might address one of the fourfooted or feathered tribe, and be disappointed of a reply. This objection would strike at the root of all poetry. It would condemn the bold figures and personifications of scripture; the parables would come under the same censure, and all the most striking and convenient forms in which instruction has been conveyed from mind to mind and from generation to generation, would be pronounced violations of that truth which it was their whole object to impress. We are not aware that this habit of invention makes men indifferent to truth. Johnson was remarkable for his strict veracity, though the author of some tolerably romantic fictions. We never have heard that Scott was noted for turning his invention to account in the intercourse of life; and Milton, who raised on a very slender basis of truth, as large a fabric of invention as the world ever saw, spoke the truth to those who had no delight in hearing it, with a boldness and power, which have been regarded as little better than crimes from his own age up to this.

Some are opposed to these fictions because they give false views of human life. The censure is somewhat indefinite; but we suppose, it often means that they represent beauty and other personal attractions as the only things worth living for. We have been edified at hearing this objection made by considerate parents, with the view of impressing on their children that the great object of existence is to be rich, and its greatest misery to be poor. We strongly doubt whether the children would learn the true purpose of existence from either. The truth is, that there must be illusion in all these descriptions, however exact they may be. The parent who takes his child to a hill to show him a path through the plain, cannot convince him that the region he is to traverse is not smoother than the ground he stands upon. Every such view is liable to mistake, like that of the officer of the customs, who believed that Marseilles was next door to Malta, because on the map he could span from one to the other. These works may occa-

sionally give good suggestions; but practical experience is only to be earned by acquaintance with the reality, and the fate of fictitious characters is about as valuable in giving principles of moral duty, as the *Book of Shipwrecks* in teaching navigation.

We cannot say much more in favor of the generous sentiments which novels inspire. Scott, in reply to objections urged against them, evidently considers this as their highest praise. But the mind is generally so passive in reading them, that their character is determined by the impressions they make, not by the feelings they awaken. These feelings are, almost without exception, cold and hollow. They are very grateful and flattering to self-love, no doubt, so long as they are not put to the trial; but if the time comes when they might be useful, they turn out to be a bright reflection merely, not a warm and cheering fire in the breast. We think we have known more than one, whose generosity was formed in this way, who wept over imaginary distress with praiseworthy emotion; but when they undertook to go into the lanes of poverty and affliction, they were sorely dismayed at meeting with vulgar insolence and sullen coldness, where they expected nothing less than a chorus of admiration. It is needless to say, that ever after, their benevolence was limited to sympathy with elegant distress, and they gave over to hearts less susceptible, the duty of relieving the sorrows in which the world abounds. So much for the benevolence which fictitious representations of distress inspire.

Miss Edgeworth and Scott, as might be expected from such minds, have discovered the best use that can be made of fiction. The plaything in their hands, like the soap bubble in the hands of Newton, is made to teach and illustrate the most important practical truth. Not that they have made it a formal drapery for philosophical opinions, like *St Pierre* in Paul and Virginia, and Voltaire in many of his writings; but they have used it largely for the purpose of suggesting various improvements and giving historical and other information in engaging forms. Every one knows how much Miss Edgeworth has done to enlighten children, in fact to improve the moral sentiment of the world, by throwing open the lower walks of life to disclose those examples of manly virtue and long suffering affection, which raise the humble above the high; and thus, by aiming at good suggestions more than formal instruction, by not attempting 'to make better bread than can be made of wheat,'

she has secured the gratitude and admiration of ages yet to come. Scott, in the same way, by giving bright glimpses rather than panoramas of history, has inflamed the curiosity of his readers, and we believe that where one has been misled by his writings, hundreds have been induced by them to go to the sources of information. Their joint praise is, that they have made what from its nature must be amusement, an efficient instrument of indirect, not of formal instruction, and thus carried their art as high in usefulness as it will ever be likely to go.

Having thus stated the highest pretensions of this kind of writing, we think it little better than absurd to pronounce one sweeping condemnation; and we have no reverence for the judgment of those, who, like a well known divine of our country, 'condemn that which they allow,' denouncing novels, and in the same breath recommending other works of taste and imagination; a sentence, which, followed out, would take the Absentee and the Antiquary from the drawing room, and leave Don Juan in their stead. It is plain, that to escape this censure, Scott has only to break up his novels into such blank verse as passes muster at the present day, a labor which any printer might save him. We have strong doubts as to the good sense implied in thus condemning by the parcel; though it must be owned that it would lighten the labor of the moralist as much as a similar process would relieve our courts of law.

The truth is, that novels belong to the department of poetry. They have a right to the same immunities, and must be tried by the same law. This fact does not seem to be acknowledged or understood. Many would ask, what there is poetical about novels in general; but they should remember that if it were required of all poems to be poetical, an immense volunteer force of writers would at once be disbanded. We see no reason why a romance should not be as poetical as a tragedy, why Hudibras more than Ivanhoe should deserve the name of 'poem.' In ancient times poetry was another name for invention; and in the older times of English literature, we find Sir William Temple speaking of Don Quixote as a poem. We shall therefore take illustrations indiscriminately from novels and poems, in speaking of the morality of works of imagination.

The morality of such works must be estimated by the moral impression actually given; and it must be remembered that the

main body of readers, are not the most judicious and enlightened. No one puts himself on his guard when he reads them. They pass into hands of every description, in their most open and unguarded hours. It is not enough that they will not corrupt the wise; for even to them, they may be injurious at times, like the breath of flowers, which is said to be pernicious at night, though harmless all day. The line must be sternly drawn, and in this case it is better that ten innocent works should suffer, than that one positively injurious should be tolerated and praised.

The professed moral, by which is meant the direct truth or instruction the writer aims to impress, is not the important thing; for often where this is unexceptionable, incidental sentiments and descriptions may be thrown in, which leave a deeper impression than that which is direct and intended. The plays represented in this city, were at one time called 'moral lectures,' for the purpose of evading the law; and many an author with the same view gives the name of moral to his writings, when the evil communications of the state prison are quite as much entitled to it, because there is nothing from which a moral may not be drawn, either for example or warning. We must pay no sort of regard to the account of his wares, which the writer hangs out in gilt letters before him. We must look to the decided moral impression likely to be received by readers in general, and inquire whether, on rising from the work, their feelings are bent, or have received an impression likely to bend them, either to vice or virtue. If they find in themselves an attachment excited for the guilty, and a disposition to smile at, rather than condemn their crimes; if they feel as if a few bold vices in the hero were rather amiable weaknesses and manly attractions than defacing stains; if the horror which every pure mind feels for coarseness and sensuality is lessened, no doubt can remain as to the moral character of such productions. This rule, firmly applied, would fall heavily on some of our writers, but would leave Goldsmith, Edgeworth, and Scott without reproach. The whole moral impression of their writings is uniformly good.

Neither is the moral character of these works to be determined by poetical justice, as it is called, a term which applies to all works of imagination, and means the retribution by which the author, in the course of the narrative, brings success to the deserving and shame to the guilty. Many errors are forgiven

where this rule is observed, and wherever it is violated a clamor is raised, like that of Richardson's admirers when they heard that *Clarissa* was unfortunate in her closing scenes. The author judiciously persevered, knowing that human life affords no exact retribution. This making success the invariable result of excellence, is like promising fairy gifts to good children. It is poorly calculated to secure young or old from weariness in well-doing, beside being the observance of a rule which has nothing like it in nature. It may be well to show that the virtuous are not losers by their fidelity, and that unmerited success is always balanced by some weight within the breast. But the true justice is, to secure the reader's regard for the characters in exact proportion to their merit, and to bring the force of moral disapprobation to bear on the corrupt, in spite of occasional flashes of good feeling, which never can amount to virtues. To give riches and happiness to his characters, requires but a dash of the writer's pen; but to secure the reader's sympathy for them through various changes of humiliation and sorrow, requires power of the first order; such for instance as is exhibited in *Henry VIII.*, when the poor dying queen towers above all the glory that surrounds her; and also in the death of *Cordelia*, a result which meaner hands have altered. But Shakspeare knew that there was no kindness in leaving her the sole remaining ruin, that in such an overflow of suffering it was time for her to die, when she had lived long enough to secure the sympathy of the world.

That something more than a formal moral is required, is abundantly manifest from the fate of religious novels, in which, probably from defect of power, the intention of the writers is sadly disappointed, if they meant to recommend religion. They parade for the reader's edification their stiff and ungainly specimens of goodness, with a draft upon his reverence and affection, which, if we may judge from ourselves, is very seldom honored. But this is nothing worse than mistake, and while these pretending characters are unattractive from their want of practical, familiar virtues, the characters offensive to morality are the reverse; those in which vices are made engaging by their union with virtues. The old English novel, we are sorry to say it, has many such heroes, entirely unprincipled, enemies to every moral and social law, and yet rendered interesting by an appearance of chivalrous courage, manliness, and good nature. The only defence set up is, that such characters really

exist, and works that profess to give pictures of real life must describe them. But suppose such characters as Tom Jones and others do really exist, is that a reason for introducing them to the public eye? Because there are profligates in the world, have we a right to make them intimate with our families and children? To say it gives experience is nothing; for these characters are introduced with an effort to make them captivating. All such experience must make them ambitious of crime, rather than sagacious in detecting it; all such experience is like that of certain thief-takers, learned by an apprenticeship to guilt. We wonder that Dr Johnson could say, 'men do not become highwaymen because Macheath is acquitted on the stage.' No, truly; but this does not touch the source of the evil. The work may be pernicious for all this; for we apprehend that a man's morals may be seriously injured, without his taking to the highway. There is guilt in the private walks of life, crime never arraigned at any human bar. The history of novel writing affords numberless scenes, incidents, and expressions, which violate morality by their indecency; for we need not say that such things are immoral, as well as disgusting. And we know not by what pestilence, this taint has spread so deep and widely through our literature, so that such scenes and passages are found, not merely in Swift, the Yahoo of literature, but, with sorrow we say it, in some of the best writers of the day, we meet with anecdotes and phrases which no man can read to a decent audience, nor blunder upon without a blush of indignation. There is a close connexion between decency of manner and language, and purity of mind. It is in vain to say that he who violates the one, has any claim to the other. We are delighted to see that the world, by a noble retribution, is inclined to consider it evidence of want of understanding, as well as moral taste. Novels are banished to the thoughtful retirement of the bookcase, which might otherwise have kept their places upon the table, in defiance of the Author of *Waverley*. Poems, like those of Dryden, are cast out, as they well deserve, on account of this stain upon their garments. We find passages, it is true, deserving the same rebuke, in Shakspeare; but it is not in these dark channels, that he pours out the fulness of his mind.

The success of writers of this kind is a triumph over the moral sentiment of their readers; but for those of a different cast to give the moral impression of which we have spoken,

requires not merely good intentions, but considerable power. To arrange the circumstances of their story, to keep control over the movements of the characters, to regulate the suggestions, narratives, and descriptions which combine to give the moral impression, requires thorough good sense and a comprehension which very few possess. Without these, their works are apt to resemble an artless puppet show, where some vagrant figure, or the spasm of some refractory limb, constantly occasions evolutions unsuited to the performance. The timid writer endeavours to avoid this difficulty, by making each person speak and act with exact regard to his place and character. The cobbler is never permitted to leave his last, even for the rest which weary nature requires. Scott, however, has nothing of this formality. A few bold touches make us better acquainted with his characters than volumes of painful description, and when those characters are historical, nothing can exceed the art with which he falls in with our previous conceptions, or replaces them with his own. Very different is the manner in which our nameless writer introduces Dr Johnson in the *Disowned*. He evidently has no power to govern the unmanageable spirit he has raised. Fielding certainly possessed this comprehension; but his habits and companions placed him in an unfavorable position. He could not be supposed to take large views of life from the window of a London inn. It seems to us, that this controlling spirit of good sense, steadily exerted in the department of imagination, always indicates a master's hand; and it is perhaps owing to the want of this, rather than of good intentions, that the works of genius and morality united, are so few.

Our literature of this kind is but a century old; for we cannot think of including in it such works as Barclay's *Argenis*, though, as Job Orton, in a fit of unusual enthusiasm, said of a fine passage of poetry, there is much weight in them. There is no doubt that readers hung over them with delight. 'The high thoughts seated in a heart of courtesy,' to use Sidney's expression, afforded a perpetual charm. The eye was never weary of gazing on this romantic grandeur, though the characters are relics of chivalrous times, and the descriptions seem copied from old embroidery, rather than the vulgar reality of nature. The taste of the times was so spell-bound by these works, heavy as they seem to us, that it required much originality to strike into a new path, and much talent to make the

innovation popular. Richardson did this with perfect success ; but he did not escape at once from the beaten track. The long drawn story, the interminable conversations, and the majestic stiffness of some of his characters, are evidently owing to the spirit of the romantic fiction which was then dying away. But be it remembered to his praise, that, in a very unscrupulous age, he borrowed no popularity by addressing low tastes and passions. He brings forward none of those libertines, with attractions fabulous as those of the mermaid, who figure in the works of his successors. It is true that some of his scenes are highly indelicate, and in this he may plead the common taste and example as far as such an excuse will go ; for though the times' being immoral will not make him moral, it will show that he sacrificed very little to the popular demand. We would not be understood to say that the virtue he describes is of the first order. That of Pamela is certainly less than evangelical. She resists where she could gain nothing by submitting, and then most thankfully accepts the hand and fortune of her unprincipled seducer. Grandison also, is one of those virtuous persons who are good because they do not happen to be tempted. But Clarissa is liable to no such objection. The virtue she illustrates is affecting and sublime. On this, his fame may well be suffered to rest, for there is much about it of a fashion that will never pass away. Richardson was the first who raised the novel to virtue, truth, and nature ; for truth and nature there are in his works, however disguised by the dress and manners of the day. But it is enough for his fame to remember, that he came forward when the old romances were floating majestically on the stream of popular favor, turned the tide, and left those brave old transports mouldering upon the sands.

In point of talent, Fielding had no superior among the older writers. Smollett, with whom, for reasons not creditable to either, he is generally associated, was not to be compared to him as a man of genius or a keen observer of men. We often think that we have known characters resembling Smollett's, but we speak of most of those which Fielding describes as if they were living men. Fielding was a perfect master of grave irony. He was a shrewd and sarcastic painter of men ; and the remarks at the beginning of the chapters, in which these talents are best displayed, are often unrivalled for good sense and humor. But a dissipated life depraved these intellectual gifts. Instead of triumphing over Richardson as a copyist of

nature, he sunk into a mere describer of manners, and, to secure popularity, became a painter of English manners in their lowest forms. But he wrote to gratify the humor or supply the wants of the moment. To render a service to virtue, was unhappily no part of his design. His first work, *Joseph Andrews*, was a kind of travesty of *Pamela*, then in the height of popularity; and he seems to have been encouraged to write the rest, by the success of this. We could not expect elevated characters in his writings. It was natural that his favorites in fiction, as in real life, should be libertines, recommending themselves by a gay and happy exterior; that scenes of vulgar merriment should abound, and that amusement should be, at any expense, the main object of his writings. But his sketches, like *Parson Adams*, *Colonel Bath*, and *Partridge*, are often wonderfully fine, and no one can read them without regret that they are associated with so many of a different description. But *Fielding* has had the reward he aspired to; a popularity unbounded in its measure, and, considering the improvement of the age, long in its duration. It is time for his works to give place to more refined entertainment, and this is certainly not afforded so much by the author of *Pelham* as some others; for if *Fielding* could be charged with his transgressions, he might find some passages in the writer of the nineteenth century, which would match the coarsest of his own.

The success of *Fielding* encouraged *Smollett* to try his fortune, and happily furnished him at the same time with an example. If he must be classed with *Fielding*, to whom he is every way inferior, he must be considered as entitled to something more than an equal share of condemnation. He describes the scenes of sin and shame into which the chances of his life have thrown him, in a manner which makes us feel that he is in a circle to which he belongs; but it is one proof of his accuracy at least, that he finds it impossible to give any attraction to the low minded *Roderick Random*. In this character, he represents himself; and a most unengaging portrait it is. The hero of his other best known work also, evidently meant to be playful and interesting, is a monkey with the malice of an evil spirit. He found that vice was a deformity, which no mask would cover, and that, labor as he would, nature was always looking through. If the changes of his life did something to corrupt his moral sentiments, there must have been a deeper deficiency in a mind which was willing to stoop so low.

We shall not undertake to criticise Goldsmith or Johnson, for even he condescended to apply his ponderous mind to this light exertion. Their morality cannot be suspected. Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* is the most delightful moral picture of domestic life the imagination ever drew. The moral of *Rasselas* is not so satisfactory. That Johnson, with his melancholy views and feelings, should have felt as if his hours of misery outnumbered those of pleasure, is not singular. But when he remembered that the mind had power 'to make the happiness it does not find,' and that most of our sorrows spring directly or indirectly from ourselves, that men are made happy, not by supplying any new resources, but by teaching them to improve the familiar means which they possess, it is strange that he should not have reflected, that the feeling which he encouraged, was discontent in the form of religion. Boswell, with all his reverence for Johnson, seems to have suspected the soundness of his philosophy, though he duly endeavoured to silence his doubts as usual. Since our author has thought fit to amuse himself with this worthy, in a strain of humor which makes us feel less for the subject of it than the writer, we may take occasion to say, that we never knew a man of cultivated mind, who did not delight in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, who did not overlook all minor faults in admiration of the moralist's gigantic strength and comprehensive wisdom; though it must be confessed, that the operations of his mind resemble the dark rolling of some mighty enginery, rather than the free and graceful movements of nature.

Though Sterne is ranked with the novelists, we shall not introduce him into this, or any other decent company; nor shall we speak of the morality of Cumberland's novels, which, every one knows, were rather conscientious than intellectual. To them succeeded the Radcliffe school, the founder of which at least, exerted considerable talent to as little purpose as could well be imagined. They gave place to Miss Porter and Madame D'Arblay. We are not sure that the former did not furnish Scott with the hint of the historical novel, on which he has laid the foundation of his fame, and we are quite confident, that the author of *Camilla* is more neglected than she deserves. But it is not kindness to these names to revive them since the shadow has passed over all such productions. Scarcely any beside Miss Edgworth, are able to maintain their ground, while the great enchanter moves through the field of imagination with

so much majesty and power. Even in her, it was a rash attempt, to use his incantations. The spirits of the departed great, though an inferior spell may raise them, bow to the bidding of but one. Her Lord Oldborough is but a cold abstraction of a prime minister, which, like Chatham's statue, does not aid, but rather tasks the imagination. She cannot manage with ease the heavy machinery of state and of the law. But in her own department and on her native soil, no rival comes near her. The Absentee, in our opinion her best work, will compare with the best of Scott for its perfect picture of female loveliness and national manners. But Scott came to the field in the maturity of his judgment and his years, with his mind full of curious and elegant learning, with a fine poetical genius balanced with perfect good sense, with a manly humor seldom aspiring to the questionable fame of wit, with a power of observation, benevolent as well as keen, which looked to the bright as well as the dark side, and able to distinguish the various shades between. With these rare qualifications, he was, beforehand, sure of success; and though some complain of the sameness of his characters, which is no other than the uniformity of nature, and others condemn his later works, for no reason, that we can see, but because they are not the first, he is already sure of a place worthy his highest ambition, at the side of Shakspeare, as a historian of the heart.

His unbounded success has produced one bad effect, for which however he is not responsible. A vast number of pretenders have been filled with envy and despair; and finding it impossible to contend with him on his own ground, have endeavoured to divert the public interest to some other. Some have kept on in painful dulness, describing the manners of high life with no better advantages for observation than those of astronomers for settling the geography of the moon. But others have used far more reprehensible means for gaining attention, or rather, buyers and readers. They have republished the vile scandal of the day, have served up caricatures of well known characters. They have made us familiar with deeds and places of darkness, with retreats of gamesters, thieves, and murderers. They have counted the steps by which the man of rank and fortune descends to the villain, and have used without scruple every scene and incident which could interest the most depraved imagination. Among these writers, we must set down the author of Pelham. This work is of the

family of Vivian Grey. There is the same pretension, pedantry, and affectation in both, and the two heroes are almost precisely alike, made up of elegant audacity and vulgar accomplishments, each having a miraculous power of managing cabinet ministers, and organizing political parties, of overawing the freedom of those whom they injure, and carrying captive female hearts. Pelham is equipped with better feelings than the younger rascal, but the conception of both characters gives strong evidence that they were drawn by the same hand. If not, we can only say, we are sorry that there are two. It is not difficult to account for the success, or more properly the run of Pelham in this country, where it has been read with much interest by many who have no pleasure in immorality. The truth is, that we have a feverish interest in the concerns of English high life, and every description of it is received with implicit faith by a large body of admirers. This credulity has been imposed upon to an alarming extent, and we were fast growing wiser, when Pelham appeared, and convinced us, by his fashionable dress and knowing air, that he came fresh from the inhospitable regions of high life. Now the ready simplicity with which we take these adventurers upon trust, might remind us of the Vicar of Wakefield, who was struck with the gracious manners of the two fashionable ladies, though he thought it very coarse in them to speak of 'the living jingo.' That there is at times a 'living jingo' in Pelham, is obvious to every eye; but we are so trained to confidence that we do not suspect him. These, however, are points on which we would be understood to express ourselves with much hesitation. We can say with more confidence, that there are opinions given with more freedom than judgment, and a variety of jests, entertaining no doubt, but far too venerable for their antiquity to be proper subjects of mirth.

It is said that parts of this work are powerful. But it is well to remember, that there is a power of the scene, distinct from the power of the writer. Very inferior painters, by searching out and rudely imitating some fearful scene in real life, may make our blood run cold without much skill; and some perverse writers of the present day, have shown that, by selecting circumstances from works like the Newgate Calendar, or narratives taken from the lips of ruffians, stories of thrilling interest may be written without any invention at all. True, the ablest writers sometimes introduce such scenes; but they are

not the evidence nor the triumph of their power, and there are cases in which, like the death of Amy in *Kenilworth*, they almost destroy the illusion of the whole. The scene in the den of thieves in *Pelham*, the character and tricks of Job Johnson, were probably furnished in this easy, mechanical way. Compare such scenes with the trial of Fergus in *Waverley*, where the circumstances are simply told, and in ordinary hands would have made little more impression than any other criminal trial; but Scott, with his usual ease and unseen charm, binds the hearts and souls of his readers in an interest intense and overwhelming.

We think that the whole interest of *Pelham* is of a kind that implies little ability in the writer. We take the truth of his characters upon trust. We are content to be amused, without asking whether we are not mistaking impudence for spirit, and folly for humor. They are all characters of manners. Nature is out of the question, or rather, where everything depends on caprice, it is impossible for any character, however extravagant, to seem out of nature. We think that an action of libel would lie against him, for his representation of the English peerage. For, unfavorable as their position is for moral or intellectual improvement, it is not easy to believe that they are, as this writer represents them, rakes without honor or shame; jockies in their own mansions, or epicures inferior in every respect to the animal whom they most resemble. Specimens of all these there may be, and circles in which impertinence is talent and shame is glory. But if there is no more relief to this dark picture, than this author would have us believe, and if such are the favorites and friends of his 'gentleman,' they are more in need of civilisation than the same class at the Sandwich Islands, and it is shameful to describe the ways in which they *tattoo* their characters and persons, till they leave not a trace of nature.

But the lower characters in *Pelham* are drawn with the greatest relish and apparent truth. The high are not so well described. *Pelham* makes his first appearance with a vile jest upon his father's meanness and his mother's dishonor. Now, though such things may be specially amusing when related of others, we cannot think the English 'gentleman' would bring the joke to bear upon his own connexions. The pathos is apt to turn on subjects of a similar cast. Thus Glanville, the extravagant character who is represented as something above humanity in all virtue and honor, seduces a wretched female to elope with him, and his respectful attachment keeps on increas-

ing under circumstances, which we are assured by a great authority in such cases, are apt to 'harden a' within.' The sequel of her history we would not willingly explain, though it is doubtless read with much interest by many who would find some difficulty in relating the circumstances in their own words, with the poetical drapery taken away. Her fate fills this magnificent being with a burning spirit of revenge; and what think ye he resolves to do? Why, to plunder his rival of his last penny at the gaming table; and to accomplish this noble purpose, he leagues himself with the lowest of the human race. This is a pretty fair example of our author's ideas of what is sublime and exalted—we may say of his morality; for a writer can hardly do a greater injury to truth and virtue, than to throw the veil of sentimental or pathetic interest, over that love to which Heaven has annexed a curse that changes passion into disgust, tenderness into unnatural hardness, and life unto something worse than death.

The author seems suspicious that Pelham is not exactly what it ought to be, and by way of conciliating the public taste has published the *Disowned*; a work of a different character in some respects from the former. He seems aware that high life, above the limit of vegetation, is not the most favorable for the growth and cultivation of virtue. He has therefore brought us into somewhat more domestic scenes; but enough of high life is introduced to give him an opportunity of painting a graceless libertine, who is no less than his Grace the Duke of Haverfield. In order to be exact, the author has formed his characters on scientific principles, like the Laputan tailors who used quadrants in taking their measures; and perhaps like those learned artists, he has been puzzled to account for his dress not suiting the natural form; for his characters, though formed by rule, are not less extravagant than those of Pelham. His principle seems to be, that we are all under the dominion of some ruling passion, and the chances are even, whether it incline to vice or virtue. At different times it may incline to both, and the virtue will not be the less excellent for springing from bad principles. This is exemplified in the case of an old beau, whose disease was vanity. After various acts of malice in his youth, this vanity induces him to gain the affections of an amiable woman, whom he at the same time intends to abandon. Hearing, after her marriage to another, that she is the delight of all eyes in London, he hurries thither and regains his influence

over her, though, according to the author, with no fault on her part. By an unmanly insult he contrives to break her heart. For this he is sorry ; but now, intent on gaining the applause of men, the same principle of vanity makes him benevolent, useful, and happy. He enjoys the consolations of religion withal, while his sole resource is to pay a weekly visit to an exquisitely vulgar family, who feed his vanity with their paltry admiration. Here we think is a tolerable confusion of moral principles and traits of nature. The author may say that the history is a true one. Perhaps so, but it is something more than error to challenge for such a wretch our respect and regard.

Selfishness, according to our author, is the source of virtue. He introduces two characters to show its effect ; one, a profligate swindler, who acts naturally enough upon this principle ; the other, a man of cold and retired manners and feelings, who becomes an enthusiast in virtue, and through various trials not only holds fast his integrity, but has hours and trances of delight. Desolate himself, he devotes himself to others, and with apparently no other hope of immortality than Plato affords him, he perseveres in maintaining that virtue is its own reward. We need not say that selfishness is not apt to make philanthropists and martyrs, or that religion, as we understand it, is not a principle of vanity. The author has a moral theory, which he unfolds like the Egyptian who brought a broken cruet-stopper to Belzoni, believing it to be a jewel of immense value. Of this it is enough to say, that it seems to be the system of Plato, blended with that of Cloutz the orator of the human race, with a strong leaning to the theory of Condorcet, that the progress of reason will remove all disease, vice, and suffering, and in the result make men immortal in the present world.

The author has so many graver faults, that we should not think of criticising his style, if it were not of a kind which many second rate writers consider very fascinating. Its great merit is, that it suggests instead of defining, and makes an impression instead of communicating thoughts. The reader is imposed upon with an appearance of precision, while everything is left in that happy obscurity, which he must believe, covers something striking, and in which his imagination, if he have any, may trace whatever meaning it will. It is sometimes seasoned with a little insolence or profaneness to make it the more commanding. Some of the little English periodicals afford choice specimens of this style, which is particularly convenient in their

craft, enabling them to speak with much majesty, while they leave their readers in perplexity as to what they say, so that no man can expose or contradict them. This author is much indebted to his style. It enables him to parade common maxims with an air of originality; to deal out thoughtless judgments, as if they were deliberate opinions, and venture into philosophical discussions without fear of pursuit and detection. But with all these advantages, it is by no means to be recommended. The 'dim religious light' is not the most favorable for study, nor is a style like this, though it may please the fancy, well calculated to enlighten the mind.

We have no hope that an author like this, though not deficient in talent, will ever do service to his art. We should have said, on reading Pelham, that he was in that state, which Hume describes in the affairs of nations, when any change must be for the better. In the *Disowned*, there was certainly a change, but not altogether a reform; for though written with more regard to decency, it shows that his moral sentiments are unaltered. But his art can do without him. Though no one may ever rival Scott in variety and power, we shall doubtless have many, who can look with an accurate and prophetic eye into the depths of the soul. The field of imagination is perhaps not more cultivated as yet than the face of nature. There may be many a region where the foot of the adventurer has never trod. But in encouraging the spirit of adventure, the public must be jealous of its honor, and if any one offers to tempt it, must resent the insult, by instant and unsparing condemnation.

ART. V.—*Memoirs of a New England Village Choir. With Occasional Reflections.* By a MEMBER. Boston. S. G. Goodrich & Co. 1829. 18mo. pp. 149.

LIVELY and faithful delineations of our national habits and manners are always highly acceptable. We have had some such, but they are rare. Miss Sedgewick and Cooper have employed their talents successfully and delightfully in this field, but as yet it has been but little explored, and many an untravelled tract remains. We give our new adventurer a warm and smiling welcome. To criticise him we find impossible. How

can we criticise a man who takes us by the hand, and with such a grave and modest deportment, and humorous, good-natured twinkle in his eye, leads us into one of the villages of our queer, bustling, self-important, but noble and dear New England? Have we not seen Waterfield? Have we not the pleasure of being acquainted with the Rev. Mr Welby? Ebed Harrington, Charles Williams, Miss Sixfoot, Jonathan Oxgoad, Mrs Shrinknot, and the rest, do we not know them all? Why then, or how, should we be critical?

Our author has been wise, particularly as this seems to be his first attempt, in selecting a single and simple subject. He has painted but one group, but he has painted it to the life. His characters are not those dim, uncertain, unmarked personages, whom writers so often introduce to us, who might figure with equal propriety in either quarter of the globe. They are real, native New Englanders. They could not be mistaken for anything else. They belong to no other country under the sun. Neither are they caricatures. They are true portraits. As we said before, we know them all.

We do not mean, by quoting largely from these Memoirs, to spoil them for those to whose reading we would urgently recommend them. Let a passage or two, however, speak a better recommendation than ours. The extract which follows, is an account of Mr Ebed Harrington's first appearance as leader of the Waterfield choir. The hymn being duly given out by the minister, the narrative thus continues.

‘The tune which he selected was well adapted to the hymn announced. Every body remembers Wells. Mr Harrington had forgotten to take a pitchpipe with him to the place of worship, and there was accidentally no instrument of any kind present. He was therefore obliged to trust to his ear or rather to his fortune for the pitch of the leading note. The fourth note in the tune of Wells happens to be an octave above the first. Unluckily, Mr Harrington seized upon a pitch better adapted to this fourth note than to the first. The consequence was, that in leading off the tune, to the words of “Life is the time,” he executed the three first notes with considerable correctness, though with not a little straining, but in attempting to pronounce the word *time*, he found that nature had failed to accommodate his voice with a sound sufficiently high for the purpose. The rest of the tenor voices were surprised into the same consciousness. Here then he was brought to an absolute stand, and with him, the whole choir, with the exception of two or three of the most

ardent singers of the bass and treble, whose enthusiasm and earnestness carried them forward nearly through the first line, before they perceived the calamity which had befallen their headquarters. They now reluctantly suffered their voices one after another to drop away, and a dead silence of a moment ensued. Mr Harrington began again, with a somewhat lower pitch of voice, and with stepping his feet a little back, as if to leap forward to some imaginary point; but still with no greater success. A similar catastrophe to the former, awaited this second attempt. The true sound for the word *time*, still remained far beyond the utmost reach of his falsetto. In his third effort, he was more fortunate, since he hit upon a leading note, which brought the execution of the whole tune just within the compass of possibility, and the entire six verses were discussed with much spirit and harmony. When the hymn was finished, the leader and several of his more intimate acquaintances exchanged nods and smiles with each other, compounded of mortification and triumph—mortification at the mistakes with which the singing had begun and triumph at the spirited manner in which it was carried on and concluded. This foolish and wicked practice is indulged in too many choirs, by some of the leading singers, who ought to set a better example to their fellow choristers, and compose themselves into other than giggling and winking frames of mind, at the moment when a whole congregation are about to rise or kneel in a solemn act of praise and prayer.' pp. 10-13.

Mr Harrington's success in the afternoon was such as might be divined from the happy auspices of the morning.

'His principal mistake on the latter part of the day, was that of selecting a common metre tune which ought to have been one in long metre. He perceived not his error, until he arrived at the end of the second line, when, finding that he had yet two more syllables to render into music, he at first attempted to eke out the air by a kind of flourish of his own, in a suppressed and hesitating voice. But he was soon convinced that this would never do. Had he been entirely alone, he might in this way have carried the hymn through, trusting to his own musical resources and invention. But it was out of his power to inspire the other singers with the foreknowledge of the exact notes which his genius might devise and append to every second line. They too, must try their skill to the same purpose, and while the whole choir, tenor, bass, and treble, were each endeavoring to eke out the line with their own efforts and happy flourishes, a tremendous clash of discord and chaos of uncertainty involved both the leaders and the led together. There was nothing in

this dilemma, therefore, for him to do, except to stop short at once, and select a new tune. This he did with much promptness and apparent composure, though, that there was some little flutter in his bosom, was evident from the circumstance that the tune he again pitched upon, contrary to all rules in the course of a single Sabbath, was Wells,—which, however, went off with much propriety, and with none of the interruptions that had marred its performance in the morning.' pp. 14-16.

The successor of Ebed is Charles Williams, an enthusiast in music, under whose reign the choir prospered exceedingly. The following description of their performance of what is commonly called a *fuguing tune*, once so popular in our churches, is admirable.

'It is impossible to look back without some of the animation of triumph upon those golden hours of my early manhood, when I stood among friends and acquaintances, and we all started off with the keenest alacrity in some favorite air, that made the roof of our native church resound, and caused the distant, though unfrequent traveller to pause upon his way, for the purpose of more distinctly catching the swelling and dying sounds that waved over the hills and reverberated from wood to wood. The grand and rolling bass of Charles Williams's viol, beneath which the very floor was felt to tremble, was surmounted by the strong, rich, and exquisite tenor of his own matchless voice. And oh! at the turning of a fugue, when the bass moved forward first, like the opening fire of artillery, and the tenor advanced next like a corps of grenadiers, and the treble followed on with the brilliant execution of infantry, and the trumpet counter shot by the whole, with the speed of darting cavalry, and then, when we all mingled in that battle of harmony and melody, and mysteriously fought our way through each verse with a well ordered perplexity, that made the audience wonder how we ever came out exactly together, (which once in a while, indeed, owing to some strange surprise or lingering among the treble, we failed to do,) the sensations that agitated me at those moments, have rarely been equalled during the monotonous pilgrimage of my life.

'And yet, when I remember how little we kept in view the main and real object of sacred music—when I think how much we sang to the praise and honor and glory of our inflated selves alone—when I reflect that the majority of us absolutely did not intend that any other ear in the universe should listen to our performances, save those of the admiring human audience below and around us—I am inclined to feel more shame and re-

gret than pleasure at these youthful recollections, and must now be permitted to indulge for a few pages in a more serious strain. pp. 35-37.

Our readers will perceive, by the last paragraph of the above quotation, that the author's object in these *Memoirs* is not merely amusement. He can answer triumphantly those questions, which are posing ones to so many writers of much higher pretensions. What does it teach? What is the moral of it? It teaches—this little book—many a lesson, upon subjects, which, though important in their relations, are of such a nature that they cannot be gravely handled, or even touched, in the pulpit. We have been in various 'singing seats' ourselves, and can testify that Charles Williams is not the only individual to whom the following gentle rebuke might do some good.

'Then again, it ought not to have been Charles Williams, of all persons, who scribbled with a lead pencil upon every blank leaf of every hymn book and singing book within his reach, filling them with grinning caricatures, with ridiculous mottos, and with little messages to the adjoining pew, some of the occupants of which would blush, when they found themselves glancing with greater eagerness at these irregular and unseasonable *billets doux*, than listening to more edifying productions from the pulpit.' p. 55.

In fact, though the historian of the Waterfield Choir has very evidently a keen perception of the ludicrous, and indulges himself constantly in playful and unwounding satire, he inculcates on every page christian seriousness and christian charity. We conceive that we give his book a high as well as an appropriate place, in ranking it by the side of the *Annals* of the Parish.

Our friend has taken occasion, in his *Memoirs*, to express his opinion on the frequently agitated question, whether church music should be left to a selected choir, or participated in by the whole congregation. He supports, and with his usual felicitous and modest manner, the latter part of the question, not, however, pretending to speak with absolute decision. It is a side which we ourselves have advocated in the third and fourth volumes of the first series of our work; but as we are willing that both sides should have a fair hearing, we insert with pleasure in this place a letter on the subject, which we have received from a respected correspondent.

‘There are some prevalent ideas upon the subject of Church Music, which seem to me erroneous, and of a very unhappy effect upon many excellent persons, and which need only to be considered, or even fairly presented to their minds, to be at once corrected. Will you indulge me, Mr Editor, with an opportunity of expressing an opinion upon a subject of much interest to a large portion of the community, and of presenting a view of it, which, if not new, deserves more consideration than is commonly given to it?’

‘It is thought by many, that the music of the church is of a species entirely different from every other, and that the true and only desirable effect of it, is to be produced by means very widely removed from those by which musical effect is produced in all other cases. It is supposed that as the music is designed to affect the minds of all the auditors, therefore all must join in it, not merely mentally, or with the heart, but with an audible effort of the lungs. If seriously considered, this appears one of the most singular inferences that could be drawn from such a position. I should think it more natural to say, if it be desired that music should produce a certain effect, it must be listened to. And in all other cases but the solitary one of church music, this is so unquestioned a truth, that it is universally considered a proof of bad manners, or of great insensibility, to interrupt the current of melody, or to disturb the effect of good music, by any sound loud enough to divert the attention of the listeners. If any one were to proceed so far as to accompany the performer, under the idea that the effect would be heightened by his joining in the air, he would very fairly be thought either a person of singular vanity, or one whose intellect was disturbed by a theory which had got possession of it. And why should it be regarded differently in church? Is there any such radical difference between the music of the church, and that of the theatre or the drawing room, that what is conceded to be in a high degree improper in the one case, is necessary in the other? I conceive not. All music, whether of the church or the theatre, is designed to affect the mind through the ear; and many times does it happen, that the intended effect of profane music, as it is called, is identically the same with the intended effect of sacred music. Reverence, awe, tenderness, pity, and other emotions are very often designed to be produced, and frequently are excited, by both kinds of music. Still further; the very same airs, the very same

harmony, which is used for a certain effect in the theatre, is often very properly selected to produce a similar effect in the church, so that it would seem impossible, in those instances at least, that there should be any essential difference in the design or character of the music of the two places.

‘It may possibly shock some minds to learn that many of the best and simplest psalm tunes, which they are accustomed to hear with reverence on the Sabbath, and to join in as a part of the sacred duty of the day, are portions of operas. It is, nevertheless, strictly and literally true ; and if their consciences would suffer them to go to the theatre, I doubt not they would consider it a ludicrous absurdity, at least, to join the performers, under pretence of increasing the effect, either upon their own minds, or those of others. If amateurs of music, they would be seen with excited feelings and strained attention listening to every sweet note, and fearing to disturb, by too loud a breath, the effect upon their minds. If it be said that this is merely the result of art which we admire, that the skill of the performer is what strikes us, I admit that it sometimes is so, but I ask if this be the only effect ever produced on us. Are not the feelings affected, emotions excited, and even passions roused by music ? Is not an effect sometimes produced similar to that which results from the successful exertions of a skilful orator ? Surely it will not be denied. It has been acknowledged in all ages of the world. Mere admiration of skill falls far short of the true purpose and the frequent effect of music ; it is a proof that the skill is not great enough ; it needs the last finish, the power of concealment. If admiration and wonder at difficulties overcome, be the only effect of the best execution of the best music, it is an art not fit to be practised at church ; but if the feelings may be touched, the heart warmed or elevated by tender or sublime strains of music, these effects must be produced upon the listeners at church, by the same means as they are upon the listeners at other places. It is not the performer, certainly not the unskilful, unpractised performer, who is most likely to feel the effect of music ; but under the unhappy prevalence of the mistake that devotion is aided by singing one’s self, how many have been taught to proclaim at church their own incapacity, and to deprive themselves and others of the gratification and benefit which might be derived from good music. There are many, probably the great majority of those who are not qualified by nature or education to utter musical

sounds, who are still acutely sensible of their power ; and as I presume such persons constitute the greater part of those promiscuous assemblies which form our congregations, it is unfortunate for them that this error is so general. If they had been taught to listen to the music, instead of joining in it aloud, they would offend the ear of no one, and would sometimes have the opportunity of enjoying a pleasure which they are unable to give.

‘I have heard it said, and I cheerfully acknowledge the truth of the remark, that the union of many voices in the same strain sometimes produces an effect far beyond that which could result from one or a very few, however charming or skilful. So well is this understood, that scientific composers have taken advantage of it to produce, in their choruses, some of the sublimest effects of which music is capable. But it must be remarked, that an accidental collection of persons, without previous instruction or skill, cannot perform the music in such a manner as to produce these effects either upon themselves or others. Singing is an art, requiring education and discipline, and can no more be attained without them, than valuable results can be reached in other arts by the ignorant and unskilful.

‘Still I may be told that a mere collection of human voices, however untrained, produces its exciting effect, as in the boisterous repetition of a lively chorus to a song, or a loud and animated shout. I am far from denying it, and merely contend that the impressions made by such sounds are not the effect of music. Few things are more exciting than the loud shout of a multitude ; but it is the mind actuating that multitude which operates on our minds ; it is the feeling or purpose displayed which is sublime. There is, too, an effect produced upon us by mere noise, as by any other sign and emblem of power, which we often strive in vain to counteract. What, for instance, is more imposing than the thunder, the roar of a stormy ocean, of a vast cataract, or of a mighty whirlwind ? But is this music ? Do we endeavour by music to imitate these, or the still small voice in which God speaks to the heart not less than in the uproar of an agitated world ? If it be desired to excite a rude merriment at church, or a mere agitation of the animal spirits, then let all the congregation shout aloud. But if a chastened cheerfulness, reverent love, and penitent sorrow be the proper sentiments to accompany our public worship, let

these feelings be produced by suitable strains of touching or animated music, performed by those who have the necessary gifts of nature and education. In this way they can be produced, and in no other. It is vain to say, as it often is said, that a few tunes sung by all the congregation, will produce the best effect of church music. A congregation is composed of those who have not the necessary qualifications for singing, as well as those who have. No reiteration can teach the former even a limited number of tunes, and the latter will inevitably become weary ; for nothing is sooner or more thoroughly wearisome than the frequent repetition of the same musical strain.

‘It is occasionally a subject of complaint with those who wish to hear the voice of the whole congregation, that the music in our churches is becoming too scientific. I believe it is a complaint which no scientific musician would make of the best of it ; but if there be any truth in the remarks I have offered, it is rather a subject of congratulation than complaint, and the sooner and the more attention is paid to a skilful and judicious manner of singing in all our churches, the better will it be both for those who can, and those who cannot sing themselves. Persons of musical taste are generally well pleased to listen to good music, if performed with tolerable judgment ; and those who have not a cultivated ear will probably be suitably affected by it, if its impression be not prevented or destroyed by the dissonance of their own accompaniment. I am at a loss to imagine the origin of the notion that the mere sound of one’s own voice can add strength to the emotions of the mind. Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth sometimes speaketh. An ejaculation or exclamation is a natural effect of strong emotion ; but that the melancholy sounds produced by some who have a zeal for singing, but not according to knowledge, can aid their feelings of piety to God, or love to man, is beyond all belief. It is a custom which has prevailed in comparatively few places, and even in those where musical attainments are most common, as in some parts of Germany, whenever the singing in the church is performed by the whole congregation, it ceases to be music, and degenerates into noise. On the other hand, who has not heard of the beautiful and solemn effects which are produced in the Roman and English churches by the skilful performance of select and commonly small choirs ? I would not imply that all the chanting and singing of their sometimes pompous services, is in good taste, or of a

devotional tendency; but some effects are produced of an elevating and touching kind, which can never be attained by the united efforts of a whole congregation. We have the opportunity of selecting what is good, and rejecting the bad in our own churches, and if the experience of ourselves and others be not lost upon us, we shall encourage the growth of musical taste, till, instead of a small number in each worshiping assembly, there will be a majority, or even, if it be possible, the whole, who may be able not merely to enjoy, but to produce good music. I have no fear that when this happy result shall be obtained, the whole congregation will join in the singing. No, they will then have learned that music is intended for the ear, and having selected those among them who are most competent, they will listen with warm hearts, or elevated affections to the strains in which the worship of God, and sympathy with his creatures, will be suitably expressed.'

We will only say of this letter, that we like its spirit, and are not insensible to the force of its reasoning. We must not take up the time of our readers by repeating the arguments which have been advanced on the other side; but will merely refer those who are interested in the question, to the *Memoirs of a New England Village Choir*, and to the articles in the *Examiner* to which we have already alluded.

ART. VI.—*A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews.* By MOSES STUART, Associate Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover. 2 vols. 8vo. Andover. Flag & Gould. 1827--8.

PROFESSOR Stuart, in the first volume of his *Commentary*, endeavours to prove, that the *Epistle to the Hebrews* was written by St Paul. We were not satisfied with his reasoning; and, in consequence, in our last series, were led to maintain our own opinions on the subject. We first examined the historical evidence, which seemed to us not only insufficient to prove that St Paul was the author of the work, but to be of such a character as to create a strong presumption that he was not. We next turned our attention to the *Epistle itself*, and

neglecting what seemed to us arguments of less weight, applied to it, a test, which seemed to admit of a near approach to certainty upon the question. We stated the fact, that certain words very familiar to St Paul, and such as it is equally probable that we should find in this Epistle, if written by him, as in his acknowledged writings, did not occur in the Epistle. Proceeding upon the principles of mathematical reasoning, we showed, that their not being found in this work, rendered it morally certain that St Paul was not its author. We next remarked on the great difference between the style and method of the Epistle and that of his writings; a difference, obvious to every intelligent reader of them in the original, or in a good translation; acknowledged by those Greek Fathers, who regarded the apostle as the author of the work; and concerning which there has been a general agreement of the learned in modern times. We next turned to a topic, in itself curious and interesting, and which has in its various bearings been very imperfectly explained,—the mystical interpretation of the Old Testament by the Jews. We showed that in his style of interpreting the Old Testament and reasoning from it, the writer to the Hebrews followed the fashion of his age; that he was distinguished as a mystical expositor and reasoner; and that in this particular there was a wide difference between him and St Paul.

The further prosecution of the subject was interrupted by the ill health of the writer. It is now proposed to resume it. The question respecting the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews is not only one of much importance in itself and its consequences; but involves incidentally the discussion of some of the most interesting and important topics connected with the study of our religion. Among well informed and rational Christians, who feel the value of their faith, but who are not professed theologians, we believe there is an increasing thirst for correct information, which comparatively speaking has been very scantily supplied. It is one purpose of the present work to afford such information, according to the measure of our ability. We proceed to our subject.

The next objection to be adduced to the supposition of St Paul's being the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, may be thus stated;—It appears from the Epistle, that there was a wide difference between its author and St Paul in the general character of their minds, and particularly in the aspect under which

they regarded various important topics connected with Christianity.

The proofs of this proposition have in part been already alleged under the preceding heads. The fact is shown by the great difference between them in their style of writing, in the use which they make of the Old Testament, and in their manner of reasoning. But there are other striking examples of it, some of which we shall now adduce.

The first we shall notice, is the fact, that the writer to the Hebrews, in speaking of the blessings of Christianity, limits his view to Jewish believers. He does not regard our religion in its relations to the rest of the world. We believe, from various considerations, that he considered it as intended for the benefit of Gentiles, as well as Jews; but of this his epistle affords no direct proof. His manner of treating the subject was adopted, we conceive, in conformity to the prejudices of his nation.

The believing Jews, at first, regarded Christianity, not as a universal religion, but as a particular dispensation, like that of Moses, the benefits of which were to be confined to Jews, and to proselytes to Judaism, who were considered as incorporated with their nation, and who therefore may be included under the general name of Jews. All the blessings expected from the coming of their Messiah had been limited in their imaginations to those under the Law. He was to be the deliverer of Israel, not of mankind. It was probably somewhere about twenty years after our Saviour's ascension, that the apostles, and the elders of the church at Jerusalem, 'after much discussion,' determined to throw open the doors of the christian church to the Gentiles, without requiring them to submit to the Law of Moses, or in other words to incorporate themselves with the chosen people. The determination was made on the ground that the will of God had been miraculously revealed to that effect.* Still the authority of the decree was not acknowledged by all those Jews who professed themselves believers. It is probable that far the larger portion of them had no just conceptions of the character and value of Christianity as a religion for all men. The decision of the apostles was strongly opposed to their national pride, their ancient hopes, and that veneration which they still cherished for the Law. By its operation, the holy people were confused together with the profane and im-

*Acts, Ch. xv.

pure Gentiles, with whom free intercourse had been hitherto considered as pollution. The admission of the uncircumcised into the Christian church was probably regarded by the majority of Jewish believers, as something to be tolerated rather than desired. With but few exceptions, the Jewish and Gentile Christians seem from the first to have kept aloof from each other, and after the apostolic age to have separated into two distinct bodies.

But St Paul was wholly adverse to the prejudices and pretensions of his countrymen. His mind had been opened to the comprehension of the infinite value of Christianity as a religion for all men. He asserted the cause of the Gentiles, and was a minister to them, at a period when the other apostles, the immediate followers of our Lord, appear only to have assented to the propriety of his course. In his epistle to the Galatians, written, probably, before the question of the admission of Gentiles into the church had been settled by the Council at Jerusalem, St Paul evidently speaks with some dissatisfaction of the want of sympathy on the part of the other apostles. He says that he, with Barnabas, went up to Jerusalem, 'and laid before them the gospel which he preached to the Gentiles, lest he might labor or might have labored in vain;' that is, lest his labors might be frustrated by a disagreement of opinion and feeling on their part. This communication he says, was made 'privately to those in most esteem;' implying that as yet there had been no general approbation expressed of his ministry. Then, after stating that Titus, who was with him, was not 'compelled' to be circumcised, he thus proceeds; 'But from those who appeared to be something, whatever they were—it makes no difference as respects me; God does not regard external distinctions—to me those who appeared thus, communicated nothing.' They, indeed, recognised his divine commission, and gave him and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, but gave it as to those engaged in a different ministry from their own, 'that we,' as St Paul says, 'should preach to the Gentiles, and they to the circumcised.' *

Thus early did St Paul take the lead in the assertion and application of the fundamental truth, that Christianity is a universal religion, and assume, in consequence, the peculiar office of apostle to the Gentiles. He was distinguished from

* Galatians, c. ii.

others by the full, explicit, earnest inculcation of that truth, without compromise or qualification. It was the steady avowal of it which particularly exposed him to persecution ; for a doctrine, which put the Gentiles, who had been so odious, upon a level with the chosen people, was detested by the unbelieving, and evidently but little favored by a large portion of believing Jews. The language which the apostle used concerning it, must have jarred harshly with the prejudices of his countrymen. There were few, probably, who agreed with him in the clearness of his convictions, and the strength of his feelings. This very want of sympathy, the discouragement, the opposition, and the persecution which he encountered, must, with his character, have tended powerfully to deepen his interest in the cause to which he devoted himself. This interest pervaded his mind, governed his life, gave its character to his ministry, and animates his writings, where it appears with all that distinctness which we might expect from one, who seems never to have hesitated about laying bare his thoughts and heart. When he adverts particularly to the admission of the Gentiles to the blessings of Christianity, it is easy to perceive the intensity of his feelings, elevated by the magnificent prospect that opened before him, and gaining strength from every personal consideration. It is thus, to give a single example, that he expresses himself in one of the passages in the Epistle to the Ephesians, which refer to this subject ; ch. iii. vv. 1--13.

‘ It is for this, for the sake of you Gentiles, that I Paul am a prisoner of Jesus Christ ; for ye have heard of that ministry which the favor of God has conferred upon me in your behalf ; that the secret purpose of God was made known to me by revelation ; that purpose of which I have just written to you in a few words, by reading which you may understand my acquaintance with the secret design of Christianity ; which in other generations was not made known to the sons of men, as now it has been revealed by the spirit to the holy apostles and teachers of Christ ; that the Gentiles should be joint heirs, incorporate, and sharers in the promise, by means of Christ, through that gospel, of which I became a minister by the favor of God, freely conferred upon me through his mighty energy. On me, the very least of all the holy, was this favor conferred, to make known to the Gentiles the glad tidings of the inconceivable riches of Christ, and to enlighten all respecting the character of that se-

cret purpose, hidden from the past ages in the mind of God, the author of all, to the end that through the constitution of the church, might now be made known to those most exalted in power and authority, the manifold wisdom of God, shown in the disposition of the ages which he has made by Jesus Christ our Lord; by whom we have boldness to approach confidently through faith in him. Wherefore I beseech you not to be disheartened by the troubles which I am suffering for you, in which you ought to glory.'

It is thus, that the apostle of the Gentiles speaks of the peculiar ministry with which he had been intrusted by the favor of God, of his devotion to the cause, of his sufferings for it, and of the enlarged and glorious views of Christianity, to which his mind had been opened by express revelation. The sufferings to which he directly refers, were those which preceded and accompanied his first imprisonment at Rome; but a little before the conclusion of which the Epistle to the Ephesians was, probably, written. Why he speaks of them as incurred for the sake of the Gentiles, may partly appear from the circumstances attending his previous apprehension at Jerusalem. He visited the city with a full perception of the dangers to which he was exposed from his fearless avowal of those generous and noble conceptions of Christianity which he entertained. He did so, notwithstanding the earnest persuasions of his friends. He said to them, 'I am ready not to be bound only, but to die at Jerusalem, for the sake of the Lord Jesus.' The next day after his arrival, he 'explained particularly' to the other apostles 'what God had done *among the Gentiles* through his ministry.' They felt with him, and 'glorified God;' but they knew the prejudices of their countrymen, and said; 'Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are who believe; *and they are all zealous for the law*; and they have been informed of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews who are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses; telling them not to circumcise their children, nor to conform to our customs.' To remove the odium which had been excited so generally against him, they advised him to conform in a particular observance to the Jewish ritual. He consented to do so; but the object was not attained. He was assaulted in the temple, and his life was in imminent danger. He was rescued, but, at the same time, apprehended by the Roman guard. From the steps of the temple, the captain of the guard allowed him to address the multitude;

but the last words which they suffered him to utter were these ; ' And the Lord said to me, Go ; for I will send thee far hence to the GENTILES.' ' And they heard him,' says the historian, ' to that word ; and then lifted up their voices and said, Away with such a fellow from the earth ; for he is not fit to live.' *

Now the Epistle to the Hebrews, if written by St Paul, must have been written just after his first confinement at Rome ; and there is no probability, supposing it to be his work, that the community to which it appears to have been particularly sent, was any other, than that of the Hebrew Christians at Jerusalem. The interval must have been short between its composition, and that of the Epistle to the Ephesians. After reading this epistle, therefore, and those to the Colossians and Philippians, which were both written about the same time, and breathe the same spirit, let any one turn to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and consider, whether it be probable that St Paul was its author, and that it was sent by him to the Jewish believers of Jerusalem.

The writer to the Hebrews, as has been stated, in speaking of the blessings of Christianity, limits his view to Jewish Christians. It is a remarkable characteristic of his work. He regards the dispensation solely in reference to his believing countrymen. There is not a passage in the Epistle which clearly intimates that the Gentiles had any concern in it.† Now this characteristic is strikingly at variance with St Paul's habits of action, thought, and feeling. We will produce some of the passages which show that the writer thus restricted himself in the consideration of his subject. In commencing his work, he says ;—

' God, who at different times and in different ways, spoke to *our fathers, by the prophets*, has at last spoken to *us* by his Son.'

In this passage, Jews alone are regarded as the subjects of

* Acts, chh. xx, xxi, xxii.

† There are two passages in which, speaking of those to whom the blessings of Christianity extended, the writer to the Hebrews uses the general expression 'all,' or 'every one.' In chap. ii. vs. 9, it is said that 'Jesus tasted death for every one ;' and in chap. v. vs. 9, that he 'became the author of eternal salvation to all who obey him.' But such general expressions, as every one acquainted with the interpretation of language knows, are to be limited to those individuals, or that class of men, to whom the attention of the reader is directed ; or, in other words, to those whom it appears from the connexion and tenor of the discourse, that the writer had in view.

the new dispensation. In the second chapter, vv. 16, 17, he says ;—

‘For Christ, truly, did not give aid to angels ; but he gave aid to *the offspring of Abraham*. Hence it was proper, that he should be in all respects like his brethren, that he might be a compassionate and faithful high priest in the service of God, to make propitiation for the sins of *the people*.’

In order to understand this passage, as well as others in the Epistle, it is necessary to determine the sense of the terms, ‘the offspring of Abraham,’ and ‘the people.’

By ‘the offspring of Abraham,’ the Jews, according to the obvious meaning of the words, understood themselves, his natural descendants. They gloried in this distinction, and relied upon it as securing to them exclusively the blessings, which God had promised to Abraham and his offspring. But in two passages, one in the Epistle to the Galatians, chap. iii. 6–29, and the other in that to the Romans, chap. iv. 11–18, St Paul, knowing that the ministry of the Messiah was intended equally for the blessing of believing Gentiles as of believing Jews, contends that both classes, as Christians, are entitled to that name. He applies it in this broad and figurative meaning, because that distinguishing favor from God, which the Jews had expected as natural descendants of Abraham, was now manifested not toward them as such, but only toward the followers of Christ. John the Baptist had thus addressed the teachers of the Law, and the Pharisees ; ‘Think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham for our father ; for God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham.’ St Paul teaches the Jews, that God had from the Gentiles raised up children to Abraham. The Gentile believers might, metaphorically, be called the sons, or the offspring of Abraham, because they were like him, because they obtained the favor of God as he had done, not by observing the Law, but through religious faith. The peculiar distinction in the sight of God which had before been expressed by this title, had been transferred from Jews, as such, to Christians ; and on this ground the name might be applied to the latter. But this was a new metaphorical application of the term. St Paul does not thus use it without explanation, but only in the two passages referred to, where it is his purpose to enforce the truth, that, in regard to Christianity, Gentiles were on an equality with the descendants of Abraham. Elsewhere, he employs it in its common

acceptation, as distinguishing a Jew from a Gentile. Thus, Romans xi. 1. 'Do I say then that God has rejected *his people*? Let it not be thought. For I also am an Israelite, of the offspring of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin.' Thus also, 2 Corinthians, xi. 22. 'Are they Hebrews? So am I. Are they Israelites? So am I. Are they the offspring of Abraham? So am I.' When, as in the Epistle to the Hebrews, the term occurs without any explanation or intimation from the writer that it is employed in a wider meaning than common, it must be taken in its usual acceptation, the only one with which Jews were familiar.

The other term, 'the people,' or its equivalent, 'the people of God,' properly denotes the Jews. It is used indeed to denote the Christian community, or that portion of it which consisted of Gentile believers; for Christians might be considered as having been adopted by God as his peculiar people in the place of the Jews. But it is employed in this new signification only twice by St Paul, and in these cases the sense in which it is thus used is clearly indicated by the connexion, or rather necessarily results from it. Thus Romans, ix. 25, he quotes the words of Hosea, 'I will call that people which was not mine, my people.' And he tells the Corinthians, 2 Epistle vi. 16, again using a quotation from the Old Testament; 'Ye are the temple of the living God; as God said, I will dwell among you, and be conversant with you, and I will be their God and they shall be my people.' Once also, he has a somewhat analogous use of language in his Epistle to Titus, when he says, ii. 14, 'Christ gave himself for us that he might ransom us from all iniquity, and purify to himself a peculiar people devoted to good works.' The word, *λαος*, 'people,' occurs not so frequently in all St Paul's writings, as in the Epistle to the Hebrews. But with him, as with the other writers of the New Testament, 'the people,' or 'the people of God,' when used absolutely, without explanation, always denotes the Jews. Of its use in this sense by the writer to the Hebrews almost all the instances of its occurrence are clear examples.

In the passage last quoted from the Epistle to the Hebrews, let us, then, for the terms 'the offspring of Abraham,' and 'the people,' substitute that to which they are equivalent in sense, though the associations with it are so different, and consider whether the passage could have been written by St Paul.

'For Christ, truly, did not give aid to angels; but he gave

aid to the Jews,' being 'a high priest in the service of God to make propitiation for the sins of the Jews.'

In the mystical account of the rest into which the followers of Christ are to enter, the view of the writer is still limited to Jewish Christians. He says, chap. iv. 8; 'If Joshua had brought them [the ancient Jews] into the rest, *there would after this have been no mention of any other day.*' The interest of the Gentiles in Christianity is here kept entirely out of sight; and in correspondence with this fact, the writer proceeds to observe; 'So then there still remains a sabbath rest for *the people of God.*'

In the seventh chapter, v. 11, having sole reference to the Jews, he asks; 'If then perfection could have been attained by means of the Levitical priesthood (for to this *the people* were made subject by the Law), what need was there still that another priest should be appointed after the order of Melchisedec, and not after the order of Aaron?'

It is difficult to believe that St Paul could have proposed such a question. Agreeably to what he here expresses, the writer afterward declares, chap. viii. 7. 'If that first covenant [the Law given to the Jews alone] had been faultless, *there would have been no room for a second,*' and proceeds to quote the words of Jeremiah; 'I will make a new covenant *with the house of Israel, and house of David,* not according to the covenant which I made with their fathers when I took them by the hand to lead them out of Egypt.'

Again, he says, chap. ix. 15. Christ, 'is the mediator of a new covenant, that through his death deliverance being obtained *from the sins committed under the first covenant,* those who are called may receive the eternal inheritance which was promised.' Here Christ is represented as effecting nothing more than the deliverance of Jews from sins committed under the Law.

In the beginning of the tenth chapter, he is described as coming to do away sin; and in accordance with the passages just quoted, the only reason assigned for his coming, is, the inefficacy of those sacrifices 'which were offered according to the Law.' The writer then quotes again a part of the passage of Jeremiah, before alleged by him, which, whatever event it was meant to predict, relates exclusively to the Jewish people.

We will adduce but one passage more, chap. xiii. 12. 'So Christ also, that he might sanctify *the people* by his own blood, suffered without the gate.'

It is highly improbable, that he who was peculiarly the apostle of the Gentiles should, under any circumstances, have given so imperfect and contracted a view of the Christian dispensation, as appears in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. In writing to Jewish Christians, no one can believe that he would have attempted to gain their favor by countenancing their prejudices. The occasion would have brought their national errors immediately before his mind; and fearless, and open, as he was, devoted to the truth, and comprehending its immeasurable importance, one main object with him would have been to remove those false conceptions, and narrow feelings, which obscured their view of the Gospel, and remained as a barrier between them and the Gentiles, after the 'partition-wall' of the Law had been broken down.

But the mind of the writer to the Hebrews was deeply imbued with Jewish conceptions and sentiments; and in the same spirit of conformity to the feelings of his countrymen, which appears in confining his attention to them alone, he arrays some of the essential truths of Christianity in imagery borrowed from the Law, and thus presents them under a new aspect, unknown to St Paul. It is thus, for instance, that he ascribes to Christ the office of a high priest; a topic to which we shall now advert.

He introduces the subject early, saying, ch. ii. 18;— 'Whence it was proper that Christ should be like his brethren in all respects, that he might be a compassionate and faithful high priest to make propitiation for the sins of the people.' He brings forward this doctrine, as that which gave value to their faith as Christians, ch. iv. 14. 'Having, then, a great high priest, Jesus the Son of God, who has past through the heavens, let us cleave to our profession.' He represents it as the ground of their confidence toward God, ch. iv. 15, 16. 'For we have not a high priest, who cannot sympathize with our infirmities; but one who, without having sinned, has been subject in all respects to the same trials as we are. Let us therefore approach with confidence the throne of favor, that we may receive compassion and obtain the favor of seasonable help.' It is as a high priest, that he considers Christ as the author of eternal salvation, ch. v. 9, 10. 'Being perfected, he became the author of eternal salvation to all who obey him, having been appointed by God a high priest after the order of Melchisedec.'

After this preparation, the writer proceeds to give at length an exposition of what he represents as a great, distinguishing characteristic of our religion; that Christ is a high priest after the order of Melchisedec. He introduces it with solemn reproof, warning, and exhortation. He speaks of it as a high doctrine, to be comprehended only by full grown men; and seems to elevate its importance above that of the fundamental truths of our religion, which he represents as milk for babes; ch. v. 11--vi. 4.

‘Concerning Christ we have much to say, which is hard to be explained to you who have become dull of hearing.’ For when after so long a time, you ought to be teachers, you have need that some one should teach you the very elements of the oracles of God; and have come to need milk and not solid food. But they who are to be fed with milk want ability to comprehend the doctrine of righteousness, being but babes. Solid food is for full grown men, who have their senses exercised by use to distinguish between good and bad.

‘Let us then leave discoursing concerning the elements of Christianity, and press on to perfection; not laying again the foundation of reformation from dead works, and faith in God; baptisms, instruction, the imposition of hands, the resurrection of the dead, and eternal judgment. And this we will do, if God permit.’

When the writer exhorts those whom he is addressing to press on to perfection, he had undoubtedly in view moral perfection; but it seems equally evident that he meant to include under this term, a knowledge of the doctrine which he is enforcing, and a familiarity with other conceptions of a similar character.

It is not necessary to remark particularly upon his exposition and proof of the priesthood of Christ. It is clear that this conception was regarded by him, as one peculiarly interesting and important. It is evident that it had taken strong possession of his mind, and was intimately associated with his belief as a Christian. But we find no trace of this conception in the epistles of St Paul. He could not have regarded it as did the writer to the Hebrews, or we should find it urged upon the attention of believers in his undisputed works. But he never calls Christ a high priest. The very word ‘high priest,’ which occurs so often in the Epistle to the Hebrews, is nowhere to be found in his writings.

We do not suppose, however, that the proper belief of the writer to the Hebrews embraced any important particular not expressed by St Paul. To a Jew, there was sufficient foundation for the metaphor by which Christ is denominated a high priest. The Jewish high priest was the head of their religion, presiding over all which belonged to it; he was the officiating minister, through whom the people, on the great day of atonement, obtained the remission of their sins; he was regarded as a mediator between them and God; through him God was believed, in former days, to have miraculously revealed his will, and to have given answers when consulted, and the notion still prevailed, that he was occasionally gifted with direct inspiration and had power to prophesy. 'The Law,' says Philo, 'requires him to partake of a higher nature than that of man, to approach nearer to the divine, bordering, to speak the truth, upon both; so that through him as a sort of intermediate being, men may propitiate God; and that God, using him as an inferior minister, may confer his favors upon men.' *

These facts and conceptions afforded abundant opportunity for instituting a parallel between the Jewish high priest, and the founder of our religion. Such a parallel must have been particularly grateful to Jewish Christians, separated as they were from the rest of their nation, and fearful of relinquishing their share in the glory and protection of the Jewish high priest. To the writer, it must have appeared a very important mode of representation, not only as corresponding to his own conceptions of Christianity as a sort of spiritualized Judaism; but as powerfully adapted to wean the Jewish believers from the letter of the Law, which still retained a strong ascendancy over their minds, and thus to transfer their regard from an earthly high priest to his glorious antitype. Attaching so much importance, therefore, to this mode of representation, as well as to the simple truths involved in it, he demands earnestly the attention of his readers, and treats the subject elaborately. Its difficulty and obscurity, however, consist, as should be observed, in the figurative conception which he has adopted, and not in the essential truths on which this conception seems to have been founded, as affording sufficient ground for an analogy between Christ and the Jewish high priest.

* *De Monarchia*, Lib. ii. Tom. ii. p. 230. Ed. Mang.

When the writer pursues this analogy further than has been stated, it seems to be merely in the exercise of imagination. He speaks of Christ as ministering in the temple in heaven ; but the conception of this archetypal temple is so shadowy and baseless, that we can hardly ascribe it to the writer as a proper object of belief. He represents him, ch. vii. 24, 25, as the eternal high priest of Christians, ever living to be their advocate. But this is an easy figure to denote the truth, that the true followers of Christ will always be accepted by God. He likewise describes him, in the fulfilment of the office of high priest, as making an offering of himself for the sins of 'the people.' This is a representation to which we shall immediately attend. When resolved into its elementary ideas, it may appear that it involves only an imaginary resemblance.

Still it must be confessed, that there seems to have been in the mind of the writer an obscure and mysterious grandeur thrown round the conception of Jesus as a high priest, which he was unwilling to dispel. His imaginations appear to have become in some measure blended with his belief. He seems to have gazed upon the glorious image before him, till his eyes were dazzled and his sight unsteady, and he could not clearly distinguish between realities and figures. In so far as this may have been the case, we perceive a still wider difference than has been stated, between the writer and St Paul, respecting this subject.

We will now proceed to another topic, and attend to the very different aspects under which the two writers regard the death of Christ.

The Saviour of the world came to redeem men from the slavery of superstition, and sin, and to transfer his followers from the kingdom of darkness to the kingdom of light. He came from God, as incomparably the greatest and most uncompromising of reformers. But his immediate ministry was confined to men, whose passions and vices had become incorporated with what they called their religion. Sustaining such a character, among such a people, he could not escape the most rancorous opposition. But for our sakes, he devoted himself to the work. It could be accomplished only at the cost of life. They in whom his declarations of the true nature of religion and virtue, had produced the bitterest enmity, having the multitude at their command, at last seized him by force, and extort-

ed from the Roman governor, his condemnation to torture and death. It was thus that he purchased us with his blood; that he died for us; that he suffered on account of our sins; that he reconciled us to God by his cross, so that 'by his stripes we are healed.' He sacrificed himself in the cause of God and mankind; and this offering of himself was as an act of the highest virtue, acceptable to God.

It is conformably to such obvious and simple conceptions respecting the death of Christ, that St Paul expresses himself. He often adverts to the subject. No topic was better suited to give the new converts to our faith a deep impression of its value, than the consideration that their Master, he who sustained so peculiar a relation to God, had submitted to a death of humiliation and torture, in order to procure them its blessings. Nothing was more adapted to excite their feelings or his own, and to produce that gratitude and reverence which were due to the great Deliverer, than the recollection, that in the cause of man's happiness, he put off all selfish regards, and never turned aside from the course appointed by God, though the dreadful sufferings to which it led him, were always before his eyes. The example of self-sacrifice which their Master had left them was to be impressed on the hearts of Christians. They were to be governed by a like unwavering sense of duty. The early believers, especially, were called to drink of his cup. They were to learn to suffer with him, that they might be glorified with him. Nor are these the only reasons why St Paul often recurs to the subject. The death of Christ displayed the purest self-devotion and love, because it was not only the most cruel, but the most ignominious and humbling. But this latter circumstance exposed his religion to the contempt of the unbelieving world. The apostle, therefore, with the openness and intrepidity which distinguished him, on this very account brings it distinctly into view, that he may exhibit it in its true character. With his high moral feelings, and his sense of the value of Christianity, the death of Christ was to him only an object of gratitude and admiration. He gloried in being the servant of such a crucified master.

With these views, St Paul regarded the mercy of God as freely offered to all men through Christ, or in other words, to all sincere Christians. To become a sincere Christian was to become a reformed man, to break off from sin, and to commence a new life. Now it is by reformation, and by this alone,

that under the moral government of the Almighty, the pardon of past sins always has been and always is to be obtained. No different scheme of the divine government was presented by Christianity. According to St Paul's conception of it, nothing arbitrary or conventional, nothing of the fictions of a later theology, is to be discerned in its character.

In speaking of the death of Christ, as well as in speaking of many other subjects, he borrows imagery from the Jewish ritual, with which he was so familiar. Once, and once only, he applies to it the terms, *προσφορά*, *offering*, and *θυσία*, *sacrifice*, which occur so often in the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is in the following passage, Ephesians, v. 2. 'Show love in all your conduct, even as Christ loved us, and gave himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God, of a grateful odor.' A sacrifice offered with proper sentiments was regarded as acceptable to God, and a means of obtaining his favor; and hence actions and states of mind agreeable to the will of God are metaphorically spoken of as sacrifices, as in the passage, Ps. li. 17. 'The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit.' So the author of Ecclesiasticus says, chap. xxxv. 1; 'He who thoroughly keeps the law, abounds in offerings; he who adheres to the commandments, sacrifices a peace offering.' St Paul thus speaks of the liberality of the Philippians toward himself, chap. iv. 18; 'I have all that I desire, and I have abundance, I am full, having received from Epaphroditus, what was sent by you, a grateful odor, an acceptable sacrifice, well pleasing to God.' He says in the same Epistle, ii. 17; 'Yea, even if my blood is to be poured out upon the sacrifice of your faith, of which I am the minister, I rejoice and I congratulate you all.' And he exhorts the Romans, chap. xii. 1, 'to present their bodies, living sacrifices, holy, well pleasing to God, which is the worship of the mind.' With these illustrations, there can be no difficulty in understanding in what sense he speaks of the death of Christ as a sacrifice.

But the writer to the Hebrews, taking advantage of the obvious metaphor of a sacrifice, institutes an elaborate comparison between the death of our Lord, and the Levitical sacrifices. He insists upon this mode of representation as something essential to his purpose. The sacrifices of the Law were of various significancy. Some were expressions of dependence and thankfulness, or for the purpose of procuring a continuance of God's favor. Others were the means of removing ceremonial

uncleanness; and others again were required after the commission of sin, as an outward expression of repentance and the desire to be reconciled with God. Both the latter kinds were denominated sin offerings. In representing the death of Christ as a sacrifice, the writer to the Hebrews for the most part, though not always, conceives of it as a sin offering. In following out this conception, he represents it, to the imagination at least, as a matter of positive appointment, like the sacrifices of the law, and as having in consequence an intrinsic efficacy to remove the sins of 'the people.' His representation likewise is, that by this great and only necessary sacrifice, the use of all other sacrifices was done away. Now to all this series of conceptions, commencing with the idea of a sin offering, there is, as we believe, nothing corresponding in the writings of St Paul.

In noticing the passages in which the writer to the Hebrews expresses his peculiar conceptions on the subject, we will begin with the following, chap. vii. 27. 'For our high priest has no need, like those high priests, to offer sacrifices day after day, first for his own sins, and then for those of the people; for this he did once for all, making an offering of himself.'

A little after, in the next chapter it is said, vs. 3, 'Now every high priest is appointed to offer gifts and sacrifices; whence it was necessary that this high priest likewise should have some offering to make.'

In the ninth and tenth chapters, the writer dwells at length upon the subject. The original temple on earth, the tabernacle in which the Jews first worshipped God, with its Holy of Holies, separated from the surrounding space within by another inclosure of curtains, is represented as an image of the temple in heaven, into the Holy of Holies, contained in which, Christ entered, having passed through its outer tabernacle. 'Christ,' he says, 'having appeared, the high priest of the blessings to come, passing through that greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is, not of this creation, entered once for all into the most holy place, not with the blood of bulls and goats, but with his own blood, procuring for us eternal deliverance. For if the blood of bulls and goats, and the sprinkling of the ashes of a heifer, purified externally those who were unclean, how much more shall the blood of Christ, who, his spirit being eternal,* offered himself without blemish to

* 'His spirit being eternal,' or 'having an eternal spirit;' *δια πνευματος αἰωνίου*. According to a not uncommon use of *δια*, it here, we believe, denotes

God, purify your consciences from dead works, for the worship of the living God.* And hence he is the mediator of the new covenant, that death having taken place to effect a deliverance from the transgressions under the first covenant, those who were called may receive the eternal inheritance which was promised.'

If we take this language in the most literal sense which it will admit, and press the analogy between the death of Christ and the sin offerings of the Jews, on which the writer here and elsewhere insists so much, it will imply, that there was by the positive appointment of God, an efficacy in the death of Christ to free the Jews from their sins, and the consequences of those sins, and to purify their minds from dead works; to effect a deliverance, not of the Gentiles from their sins, but of the Jews *from the transgressions under the first covenant*. We say, if it be taken in the most literal sense which it will admit; for obviously a part of the passage is highly figurative, or mystical; namely, where Christ is represented as having entered the Holy of Holies in the temple in heaven, with his own blood. If we regard the whole language of the passage as figurative, it is to be remarked, that no corresponding figurative representations are to be found in the writings of St Paul.

After the words last quoted, the author proceeds to speak of the new *covenant*, as of a *will* or *testament*. The ambiguity of the Greek word in the original, which has both these meanings, affords an opportunity to do so. The use of it in the sense of *will*, is connected with the mention just before of an eternal *inheritance*. Viewing the covenant, then, as a testament made by Christ, he represents the death of Christ, the testator, as necessary to its taking effect. The thought is strange and forced. It is important to be remarked, as showing on what slight analogies the writer founds his representations concerning the death of Christ, and how careful we must be, in determining his meaning, not to suppose too great a correspondence

the relation of a mode or circumstance. This use of it is better explained and illustrated in Wahl's Lexicon of the N. T., than in any other book we have met with. The sacrifice of Christ, *having an eternal spirit*, is meant to be opposed by the writer to the sacrifices of the 'brutes which perish.'

* The writer here compares the death of Christ with the Levitical sacrifices only in one point; their efficacy in removing ceremonial uncleanness so that they who had contracted it might again join in the worship of God. The followers of Christ were in like manner freed from the pollution of sin. The metaphor 'dead works,' refers to the uncleanness contracted by touching a dead body, which was to be removed by using the ashes of a heifer that had been sacrificed. See Numbers, chap. xix.

between his modes of picturing this event to the imagination, and the event itself.

The writer next introduces the fact, that Moses ratified the first covenant by sprinkling the people, and the book of the Law, the tabernacle and the sacred vessels, with blood. He then proceeds, chap. ix. 22—x. 15; 'And according to the Law, almost all things are cleansed with blood, and without the shedding of blood, there is no remission. It was necessary, then, that the images of things in heaven should be purified with such sacrifices, but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these. For Christ entered not into the most holy place, made with hands, the copy of the true, but into heaven itself, so as now to appear before God in our behalf. Not indeed to make an offering of himself many times, as the high priest enters into the most holy place, yearly, with blood not his own; for then he must have suffered many times since the foundation of the world; but on the contrary, he has appeared once, at the completion of the ages, to abolish sin by the sacrifice of himself. And as it is appointed for all men once to die and afterward comes the judgment; so also the Messiah having been once set forth to bear away the sins of many, will appear a second time without bearing sin, as the deliverer of those who are expecting him.'

The passage suggests several remarks. The allusion in the last verse we suppose to be, not to a sin offering,* but to the scape-goat, which is represented in Leviticus, ch. xvi, as bearing away the sins of the Israelites into the desert, on the great

* No sacrifice is ever represented as 'bearing sin;' and it is for this reason we conclude that the allusion is to the scape-goat. *Προσενεχθεις*, which we have rendered 'set forth,' does not show that a sacrifice is alluded to, as it is often used concerning other subjects. *Προσπειν* and *προσαγω* are indiscriminately given in the Septuagint as renderings of the same Hebrew words; and the scape-goat is spoken of, Leviticus xvi. 20, as *προσαχθεις*, 'set forth,' 'brought forward,' by the high priest.

When the expression 'bearing sin,' occurs, sin is conceived of under the figure of a burden. When Christ is said to bear the sins of his followers, the primary idea is, that he relieves them from the burden of sin, by bringing them to reformation. With this is associated, likewise, the conception of his sufferings in effecting that great work, his taking, as it were, the burden upon himself, his dying, the righteous for the unrighteous.—But the conception of the suffering of him who removes the burden of another's sins, is by no means always associated with the figure. The Hebrew word *נשא*, which is that most commonly used in expressing it, and which, in our Common Version, is repeatedly rendered 'bear,' in the sense of 'bearing sin,' is often used where God is the subject, meaning that God removes the burden of sin, that is, forgives sin.

day of atonement. Christ, the writer says, will at his second coming appear 'without sin,' that is, not again bearing the burden of men's sins. In the commencement of the passage his death is represented as analogous to sacrifices which were not sin offerings, but peace offerings, with the blood of which Moses sprinkled the people, as Christians are, mystically, represented to be sprinkled with the blood of Christ. These examples show that the writer's representation of the death of Christ as analogous to a sin offering, is not to be pressed. But the imaginary character of the correspondences between the Jewish and Christian dispensations, on which he dwells throughout his work, is apparent when he speaks of the heavenly things, the temple in heaven, being purified by the blood of Christ. It is seen, likewise, in another passage, before quoted, ch. vii. 27, in which he represents Christ as offering himself for his own sins.* These are evidently representations into which he was led by his earnestness to discover analogies between the old and new dispensation, and to represent Christianity as the sublime anti-type of Judaism. It is evident that the language of such a writer is not to be weighed and analysed as if it had a strict philosophical meaning. That his coincidences sometimes become parallel, to use the language of mathematicians, only at their vanishing point, appears likewise from his comparison of the death and judgment of man, with the single offering and future coming of Christ, between which the only resemblance seems to be, that the former and the latter both take place but once. We, therefore, do not argue that the writer of the Epistle was not St Paul, on the ground that he taught doctrines unknown to the apostle; but on the ground, that his mode of representing the same essential truths is wholly different.

In immediate connexion with the passage last quoted, the writer thus goes on;—'For the Law, but shadowing forth the blessings to come, and not possessing the very image of the things themselves, can never by those yearly sacrifices which are repeated continually, make perfect those who come with them. For then would they not have ceased to be offered, the worshippers, after being once purified, having no longer any consciousness of sin? But in them is a yearly recognition of sins. For it is impossible for the blood of bulls and

* In order to understand this passage, we may recollect that the term 'sin,' under the Law, was extended to actions having no relation to moral purity; namely, involuntary breaches of the ceremonial law.

goats to remove sin. Wherefore upon his coming into the world, he says, *Sacrifice and oblation thou hast not desired ; a body hast thou prepared for me ; with holocausts and sin offerings thou art not pleased ; then I said, Behold I come—in the volume of the book it is written concerning me—to do thy will, O God.* After saying, *Sacrifice and oblation, and holocausts and sin offerings thou hast not desired nor art pleased with,* which are offered in conformity to the Law, then he says, *Lo I come to do thy will.* He sets aside the former to establish the value of the latter. By the which will we have been made holy, through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all.

‘And every priest stands daily in the temple ministering, and offering again and again the same sacrifices, which can never remove sin ; but he, having offered one perpetual sacrifice for sin, has sitten down at the right hand of God, waiting only for his enemies to be made his footstool. For by one offering, he has made perfect forever those who are sanctified. To this the holy spirit testifies ; for after saying, This is the covenant which I will make with them hereafter, the LORD says, I will put my laws in their hearts, and write them upon their understandings, and their sins and iniquities will I remember no more. But these being remitted, no sin offering is longer to be made.’

When in this passage the writer says, ‘it is impossible for the blood of bulls and goats to remove sin,’ and that ‘the daily sacrifices could never remove sin,’ his meaning is liable to be misunderstood. In the first passage he refers to the sacrifice on the great day of expiation, the law concerning which is given in the sixteenth chapter of Leviticus. Of the ceremonies and sacrifices on that occasion, it is said, vs. 16 ; ‘On that day shall the high priest make an atonement for you, that ye may be clean from all your sins before the Lord.’ The writer to the Hebrews could not mean to deny that these ceremonies and sacrifices were a means appointed to procure the remission of past sins ; a fact which he repeatedly recognises, and on which he founds the analogy which he institutes between them and the death of Christ. On the other hand, in the second passage just referred to, he speaks of the daily sacrifice, which was not a sin offering, and concerning which, therefore, it would have been unnecessary to deny that it could not procure the remission of sins. It is not of this subject that he is speaking. His meaning is, that the sacrifices, general-

ly, of the Jewish Law, could not produce that purity, that moral perfection, that freedom from sin in the worshippers, which would render their repetition unnecessary. These, on the contrary, had been produced in Christians. Freedom from sin, and perfection, seem strong words; but they are used repeatedly in the New Testament in a similar manner, and are to be understood of course in a limited sense. That by 'perfection,' is meant *moral* perfection, the writer himself explains, using it in one case as equivalent 'to being free from the consciousness of sin,' and in another, 'to having the law of God put into the heart and written upon the understanding,' that is, 'to having it constantly in mind.'

From the passages quoted, it appears that the writer believed the sin offerings of the Jews, to be means appointed by God for procuring the forgiveness of sin, but that they wanted power to remove sin, to produce the moral reformation of the people. On the contrary, he regarded Christians, sincere Christians, as having obtained, through the death of Christ, the remission of their past sins, and as being made free from sin and raised to a state of moral purity and perfection. For them no more sacrifice for sin was necessary.

The passages quoted give a view of the language which he uses concerning the death of Christ. But how is this language to be understood? Does the writer differ from St Paul in his belief, or only in his manner of conceiving and representing the same essential truths? These are questions not to be answered correctly but by one who is in some degree familiar with the changeable power of language, and with the very different modes of using it, found in different writers.

The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews belongs to a class of writers, who, in a wide sense of the term, may be denominated mystical,—writers whose imaginary conceptions are blended with their opinions; and the shadowy and fluctuating outline of whose thoughts does not admit of their being traced in very definite language. In such writers the character of the emblem is likely to become confounded with that of the idea which it was intended to denote; or in other words, the notion of real existence belonging to the idea, is, or seems to be, transferred to the emblem. The imaginations and the opinions of the writer run into combinations with each other. Or if this be not the case, the conceptions of his fancy are presented with so much vividness, with such an air of reality, that they are lia-

ble to be mistaken for his distinct apprehensions of what he believes to be the truth.

Still, in the present instance, an attentive and intelligent reader of the Epistle may succeed, we think, in separating the proper doctrine of the author from the figures in which it is veiled; and this doctrine corresponds, as we believe, to that of St Paul. It is to be recollected that it is the design of the writer to throw a Jewish aspect over Christianity, and to image forth something more glorious in the new dispensation, corresponding to what was most valued in the old. He was writing for Jews, some of whom were in danger of growing cold to their new faith, and of relapsing into that religion in which they and their fathers had gloried. To such, the doctrine of a crucified Messiah, as it had been an offence, might, when their opinions wavered, become so again. A timid and superstitious Jew, might feel that there was great hazard in giving up the sin offerings of the Law, and especially his share in the great day of expiation. The prejudices which the writer to the Hebrews had to encounter, he does not meet as St Paul would have done, and has done, by an earnest, direct, and bold statement of opposite truths, but on the other hand, he conforms his representations of truth as nearly as possible to these prejudices, in order to quiet them, or to win them over to his side. His conceptions respecting the death of Christ correspond to this general character of the Epistle, and afford an example of the ability and skill with which the writer has executed his purpose.

He represents it under what we have seen to be the obvious figure of a sacrifice; a figure, it may be remarked, used by him as well as other Jewish writers in application to other subjects.* He thus connects his death with his exaltation as high priest. It was a sacrifice, the only one which he presented in the fulfilment of his office, of incomparably more value than those of the Levitical Law, superseding their necessity, and one which it was necessary for him to offer; for 'every high priest is appointed to offer gifts and sacrifices, whence it was necessary that this high priest likewise should have an offering to make.' Thus he presents the death of Christ, not under its highest moral aspect—far from it—but under that aspect, which would probably most impress the minds of a majority of the Jewish converts. He effects likewise an-

* Ch. xiii. 15, 16.

other purpose, essential to his main design of representing Christianity as the counterpart of Judaism; for, by adopting the figure in question, he was able to discover in the death of Christ, where alone he could have found it, an antitype of the Levitical sacrifices.

Like most of his other analogies, it is founded upon the imagination, and admits of being traced out only in figurative modes of speech. A sacrifice was an external act of worship, regarded as deriving its efficacy from its correspondence to the state of mind in the worshipper. Properly speaking, one could no more offer a sacrifice for another, to which he was not assenting, than he could worship for another.

Proceeding from the general conception of a sacrifice, the writer represents the death of Christ as particularly a sin offering. After the explanations given, it does not seem difficult to follow the train of associations which led him to this figure, nor to discover the reason of its introduction. The sin offerings of the Jews were acts of worship to obtain the remission of past sins. But the past sins of every sincere Christian had been blotted out. As a true follower of Christ he had renounced them, and thus escaped their punishment. But this remission of the sins of believers was the effect of what Christ had done, and had died in accomplishing. It was in consequence of the reception of that religion, which he had sacrificed his life to establish. The figure, therefore, by which his death is represented as a sin offering, seems to be one, which would readily present itself to the mind of a Jew, especially when occupied as was that of the writer to the Hebrews.

The sin offerings of the Jews, were likewise means of removing ceremonial uncleanness, and recovering legal purity. With this the writer compares the moral purity attained by Christians. Their religion had power to free them from sin, and to make them in a certain sense perfect. Christ had suffered that they might possess this character. They had no occasion to offer continual sacrifices for sin, as did the Jews, whose law wanted efficacy to raise them to the same moral purity. Christ, in offering himself as a sacrifice, had, as regarded his followers, rendered all Levitical sacrifices unnecessary. His sacrifice also was not of a nature to be repeated. Whatever was to be effected by his ministry and death, had been accomplished by his once dying for men.

To the mind of a Jew, the mode which the writer has adopted of imaging the death of our Saviour, must have been particularly striking and agreeable. It was accordant with his former tastes and feelings. It was likewise such as might remove the fears of any weaker convert, that in renouncing the sin offerings of the Law, he was giving up the means of obtaining reconciliation with God.

It appears, then, that the apprehensions of the writer concerning the death of Christ, when disengaged from the imagery in which they are involved, did not, probably, differ in any important particular from those of St Paul; but his mode of representing the same essential truths is widely different from that of the apostle. The figurative conception of Christ's death as a sacrifice, and particularly as a sin offering, appears to have occupied his mind as a favorite topic. On the contrary, we have many epistles of St Paul, in all which it might have been introduced; but, though the metaphor which speaks of the death of our Lord as a sacrifice, must have been so obvious to the mind of a Jew, and though St Paul refers so often to the subject, it is not certain that it is more than once expressly used by him. It is so used in the passage in the Epistle to the Ephesians before quoted; but in this passage there is no reason to suppose that the apostle had in mind the conception of a sin offering.

This indeed is not the only passage in which it has been supposed to occur. Another is found, Romans iii. 25, thus rendered in the Common Version; 'Whom God hath set forth to be a *propitiation*, through faith in his blood.' But there is little doubt that the word *ἱλαστήριον*, rendered *propitiation*, should be translated, *mercy seat*. It occurs often in the Septuagint, commonly in the latter sense, and never in the former. Supplying the chasms in St Paul's elliptical style, which we are often compelled to do in order to render his meaning intelligible to an English reader, the verse may be thus rendered; 'Whom God hath set forth, a mercy seat, to be approached through faith, sprinkled with his own blood.'

The passage found Romans viii. 3, has also been thought an instance of the figure in question. The Common Version renders, 'God, sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh.' The words translated *and for sin*,* some have thought should be translated *and an*

* *καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας*.

offering for sin. There is, perhaps, little doubt that, considered without reference to their connexion, they may express this meaning. But from the eighth verse of the preceding chapter, sin has been personified by the apostle, and represented as a cruel tyrant ruling over miserable slaves. The personification is equally distinct in the verse quoted, where the words, 'condemned sin in the flesh,' do not express the full force of the original; to which we may make a nearer approach by saying, 'passed a damnatory sentence upon sin in the flesh.' Now to represent Christ as at once an offering for sin, and as passing a damnatory sentence upon sin, is not merely an incongruity of metaphorical language, but a clashing of remote thoughts with their discordant associations, which is hardly to be supposed in any writer. As regards the meaning of the whole verse, it may be thus expressed; 'For what the Law could not do, because it was made weak by the flesh, God has done; who, on account of sin, has sent his only Son in the fashion of a sinful body to destroy the power of sin in the flesh.'

But one other passage requires particular remark, 2 Cor. v. 21. 'For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God through him.' *Made him to be sin for us*; some would render, *made him to be a sin offering for us*; but, as we conceive, in the two clauses of the verse, sin and righteousness are both abstract terms used for concrete, and opposed to each other. The meaning is; 'For God hath made him who knew no sin, to suffer as a sinner for us, that we through him might attain the righteousness which God requires.' The expression, 'Christ was made sin,' corresponds to that in Galatians iii. 13, where it is said, that he 'was made a curse,' that is, made to suffer as one accursed.

These are the principal passages of St Paul, which have been supposed to present figurative conceptions answering to those on which the writer to the Hebrews insists so much at length, and with which his mind was evidently so much occupied. His Epistle is an elaborate work, in which he designed to exhibit his views of Christianity in such a manner as would be most acceptable to his countrymen. It is clear that the representation of the death of Christ under the figure of a sin offering, with all the series of images connected with it, was thought by him important to his purpose. It is, evidently, one familiar to his mind. But it is not clear, to say the least, that we find

this representation anywhere in St Paul ; though he was equally earnest with the writer of the Epistle to recommend Christianity to his countrymen. There is no satisfactory proof that this figurative conception was ever present to his mind. There is sufficient proof that if it may have been, he attached no importance to it ; and there is a strong probability therefore that the writer to the Hebrews was not St Paul.

With the Epistle to the Hebrews, generally, we may compare the Epistle to the Romans. The latter is, in great part, addressed to Jewish Christians. A majority of those to whom it was written, were, probably, of this description. They were surrounded by unbelieving Jews, with whose national sentiments they sympathized, and by whose objections to the new dispensation, they were embarrassed. St Paul had never visited this community ; and his mind, while writing, was not occupied, as in his epistles to the Corinthians and others, by any circumstances or incidents peculiar to those addressed. He, accordingly, gives a general view of Christianity, with constant reference to Jewish opinions, feelings, prejudices, and objections. The design of the writer to the Hebrews may be expressed in the same general terms. But the modes in which this design is executed by the two writers, are widely different, and prove a great difference in the constitution of their minds, their habits of thought, conceptions, and sentiments.

The apostle brings distinctly into view the exclusive pretensions, the false opinions, and the wrong feelings of the Jews, for the purpose of showing how unfounded they were, and thus leading his countrymen to abandon their errors, and receive the truth in its simplicity. The writer to the Hebrews, on the contrary, never glances at any error of the Jews ; but, with the design of recommending Christianity to them, presents it under an aspect accommodated to their pretensions, feelings, and prejudices. This is his art of persuasion. That of the apostle consists in the strength of his representations, in the earnestness of entire conviction, and in his ardent desire that his countrymen might enjoy the blessings of Christianity—‘his heart’s desire and prayer to God.’ St Paul regards the importance of Christianity as consisting in this ; that when all, both Jews and Gentiles, were destitute of just conceptions of religion and duty, ignorant and depraved, when ‘all the world was guilty before God,’ the Gospel was proclaimed with its clear and certain revelations, its new motives, its glorious hopes and awful sanctions,

to deliver men from this state of sin and misery ; and he shows that the Jews stood equally in need with the Gentiles of such an interposition of God's mercy. The writer to the Hebrews, as we have seen, represents the christian dispensation, with its new high priest and antitypal and mystical sacrifice, as necessary on account of the imperfection of the Levitical priesthood, and the but partial efficacy of the sacrifices of the Law. In this, according to him, appeared that deficiency which was to be supplied by the new dispensation. According to St Paul, the deficiency of the Law had been shown by the fact, that while it gave a knowledge of duty, those under it were not operated upon by this knowledge, but did continually what they themselves condemned. 'When we were without the spirit, the sinful passions which existed under the Law, were working with our members to produce the fruits of death.'* But, he says, 'what the Law could not do, because it was made weak by the flesh, God has done.'† The writer to the Hebrews, regards Christ as having come to deliver the Jews from their sins ; he does not represent the benefits of his ministry as extending beyond them ; he does not teach that God has 'called those his people who were not his people.' He does not advert to that subject which so deeply affected the feelings of St Paul, the rejection of his unbelieving countrymen ; and were it not for a single passage in the Epistle,‡ it would afford no intimation, that Christianity was not generally received by the Jews. It is unnecessary to enlarge on the contrast presented in these particulars between the Epistle to the Hebrews and that to the Romans.

But the dissimilarity in the conceptions, reasonings, and sentiments of the two writers, striking as it is, is not more remarkable, than the dissimilarity in their modes of address. The Epistle to the Romans is alive with the personal feelings of the apostle. The writer to the Hebrews keeps himself individually out of sight, discovering no personal feelings, which can be regarded as characteristic. If St Paul had actually sent an epistle to the Jewish believers at Jerusalem, just after the termination of the long series of sufferings and ill treatment which had commenced in so remarkable a manner in that city, there is, we think, no doubt that it would have been an exceedingly different composition from the Epistle to the Hebrews.

* Romans, vii. 5. † Ch. viii. 3. ‡ Ch. xiii. 10.

- ART. VII.—1. *Address of the National Society for Promoting the Observance of the Sabbath.*
2. *Memorials to Congress on the Subject of Sunday Mails.*
3. *Reports of Messrs JOHNSON and MCKEAN, Chairmen of the Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, to whom were referred the several Petitions on the Subject of Mails on the Sabbath, or the first day of the week.*

THE papers named at the head of this article, will sufficiently explain the inducement that calls us before the public at this time, to offer our thoughts on the observance of the sabbath. There are questions abroad on this subject, that require discussion. The subject itself is not to be lightly passed by. We think, that those who desire the good of mankind, who are anxious for the cause of virtue and piety, who are laboring for the wisdom and welfare of the people, should charge themselves to speak soberly, temperately, and with deep consideration, of an observance which occupies a seventh part of the time of life, and which, considered either as leisure or devotion, must exert a strong and decided influence upon the general character and happiness.

It is scarcely necessary to remark, that, during the last century and a half, there has been in this country, a gradual relaxation in the rigor of sabbatical observances. We have no hesitation in saying that the change was a desirable one. But how far it should proceed, is the question. The institution is evidently advancing among us, towards the state in which it exists throughout the most of Europe, in which it is a mixture of religious observances with holiday amusements. And, to our minds, the real question before us, is, which is to be preferred for its moral influences and uses, the degree of restriction that now prevails among us, or the European freedom?

If any one is startled with this view of the subject, let us ask him where he can stop, short of this alternative? Is it not obvious that a change is taking place from year to year in the feelings and habits of society with regard to the observance of Sunday? Is not the number increasing, of those who are gradually laying aside all unusual restraint on their pursuits and actions, and are making the seventh day as other days, who hesitate not to perform journeys on the sabbath, who entertain company at their houses, and ride or walk abroad for amusement, and who regularly absent themselves from church on the afternoon of the

sabbath? Let not these be regarded, now, as implications of wrong, but as questions of fact. Our business at present, is not with censure, but with argument. Suppose these practices to be innocent—and they are not, in their own nature and intrinsically wrong—but suppose them to be, every way, innocent. What, we ask, is, if it is not perfectly obvious, that they are leading to the result we speak of? Suppose that it were desirable that the European mode of observing the sabbath should be introduced among us; should we not all say, that these practices were promising signs? In one word, suppose the progress of the country to be as great for two centuries to come as it has been for the two centuries past, and would not the change be nearly, if not quite consummated? But, in truth, it is proceeding with accelerated rapidity; and if we do not decide soon, events will go far towards deciding for us.

This, then, to our minds, is the naked question; and in this view we shall, for a moment, consider the subject. We think it desirable that the comparison should be presented in some broad and palpable relations. So long as the question is whether in some one point or another there should be a shade more or a shade less of restriction, it may not be easy to decide. And it is desirable, therefore, that we should carry our thoughts forward a little, and should consider that, in this matter, the laying on of successive shades, or that the taking them off, will at last present marked and defined pictures of general manners and morals; and that we then should decide which picture presents in the fairest lights the prospects of our country.

To go fully into the subject, it would be necessary for us to discuss the general utility of the sabbatical institution. We venture to think that the importance of the institution to the welfare of society, as well as the support of religion, is not sufficiently understood. And with the leave and patience of our readers, we shall undertake to say something at large on this subject, though it may seem to them a very unpromising theme. But for the present, we wish to offer some views that have a bearing upon the late measures for promoting a stricter observance of the sabbath, and upon the questions that have arisen from them.

We say plainly, then, that we dread the evident tendencies in this country to a laxer observance of the sabbath. Even if we put religion out of the question, and looked only at the well being of society, we should still entertain this feeling. The

great principle in ritual observances, is, that they should be wisely adapted to the character of the people for whom they are ordained, and of the whole people. A practice, like that, for instance, of riding out, to enjoy the beauty and freshness of a summer's day, might do no harm to a single individual, of a certain degree of refinement and of certain habits of reflection; but the question is, whether the same license would not do harm to the body of the people, to the young, the frivolous, the headstrong, to men of coarser passions and appetites, and fond of more riotous pleasures; whether the termination of the ride to many would not be the tavern, or the bowling-alley? We said, also, that a ritual should be judiciously adapted to the particular character of a people; that is, to the national character. The introduction of amusements among the people of France, we think, is far safer than it would be among us. There is no intemperance, and comparatively but little rudeness and violence, in their recreations. We are obliged to say, that we dare not trust our own people so far. We are of a different temperament. We are a people of stronger appetites and passions. There is, to express the whole difference, if we understand it, and we think that the literature of the two nations bears us out, there is a more powerful infusion of our common nature in the English stock, and it needs to be more carefully guarded. It cannot as safely be given up to sports and holidays. We have an instance on a small scale in one of our cities, where we are told that fifty thousand persons at least, regularly turn the Sunday into a holiday; and we believe that we correctly state, that it is made a day of more vicious and abominable excess than any other time whatever that is given to recreation. If this is a specimen of what holiday Sundays would become among us, we presume there can be no question on the subject. It would clearly be better to have no sabbath at all.

We come now to the late measures adopted for enforcing a stricter observance of the sabbath. These measures have been pursued with much zeal, and discussed with much heat; and, as usual in such cases, means and ends, motives and principles, have been confounded together. Let us, then, attempt to discriminate. We agree with the advocates of a stricter observance, about the end; we differ with them as to the means. We do not doubt that their motives, as a body, have been good; but we question the principles on which they have proceeded. For although they have a perfect right, for instance,

to withdraw their capital from those investments that involve, in their opinion, a violation of the sabbath, and to establish opposition lines of stages and steam boats, yet we think it bad in principle—bad, not as a matter of morality, but as a measure of prudence. We regret that rival and lucrative establishments should have been set up to aid the cause of moral reform. It carries an ill sound. It provokes opposition. It is no sufficient answer to say that it is the opposition of ‘the wicked.’ ‘The wicked’ are the very persons to be reformed. And measures fitted only to exasperate them, measures of a questionable or menacing aspect, that have an air of coercion or pecuniary speculation, do not seem to us to possess the dignity, gravity, and gentleness, that are needful to the right exertion of a moral influence.

Then, as to the memorials asking the interposition of Congress to prevent the passing of mails on Sunday, we did not wish them to succeed. We did not wish that Congress should legislate on this subject. Not perhaps, that there was anything very dangerous in the principle; though we look with jealousy to such precedents. But we do not think that that observance of the sabbath which we earnestly wish to see, is to be brought about by any legislative enactments. Our hope of all that moral and religious improvement in society, which we pray for, lies, first, in Christianity and the powerful preaching of it; then, in the press, in public opinion, in the patient and pure example of good men. We entertain doubts, too, though good and wise men differ here, whether the cessation of the great mails on Sunday is to be desired. The stage and the mail might stop; but private travelling, and expresses, would probably take their places, creating equal disturbance, and only, through the latter mode of communication, throwing greater advantages into the hands of capitalists. Besides, some works are proper to be done on Sunday, where the good to be accomplished is greater than the evil implied in the occupation; as when property is to be saved from fire, or flood, or mildew; or when the beadle or the tything man is employed to keep the general peace. Now, the question is, whether the good done by the travelling of the mails on Sunday, does not overbalance the evil. And here we have to add to all the facilities given to business by this medium of communication, the convenience, comfort, and relief afforded by the transmission of private and domestic intelligence. The conveyance of not merely agreea-

ble, but needful information by the daily mails, is an interest that concerns millions. Every great mail that passes through a populous empire, relieves the anxieties of thousands. Now let the good and the evil be weighed against each other. To carry a mail from Philadelphia to New York will require the services of a man for a day; or what is better, it will require the services of six men two hours each, of the Sunday. But fifty or a hundred persons may be essentially relieved in mind, from some great and reasonable solicitude; to say nothing of the five hundred or the thousand persons, to whom information of various degrees of importance is communicated. Nay, there is a negative good in this matter; there is a general confidence that important intelligence will not fail to be transmitted. An individual living in Boston, who has friends in Hartford, or a traveller on any of the great routes, who is a hundred miles distant from his family, is sure, if any of them are taken sick on Saturday, that he shall be apprized of it on Monday morning. Let us bring this matter into a still narrower compass by one further illustration. Let our reader suppose—and let his ideas of the sabbath be of the strictest kind—let him suppose, that a family of his friends, at the distance of two hours' ride, are passing the sabbath or will pass the next day, in the most bitter anxiety concerning the fate of a husband, father, or brother, and that he has the information that would relieve them, or let him suppose that any such relative of theirs has become dangerously ill; we ask our reader, with confidence, whether he would not ride or send, to give the intelligence. If he would not, we certainly should not desire him for our friend. If he would, then, let us tell him, that this is precisely what the mails are doing; and doing not only at a cheaper rate, but at a rate so much cheaper, as to bring this relief of domestic inquietude, where it would not otherwise be brought, to the doors of thousands of the poor, of thousands in moderate circumstances, and, in fact, of the great body of the people. And yet after all, expresses, as we before said, of commercial transactions, expresses would be probably sent on domestic errands, by those who could afford them, to such an extent, that more time would be occupied, and more disturbance created, than is now done by the regular transmission of the mail.

We repeat it, that we agree with the advocates of the late measures about the great end, though we differ as to the particular of Sunday mails. We agree with them, in wishing

there were less travelling on the sabbath. We have no particular objection to a national society, in aid of this cause; only that, we think, that all which can legitimately be done, can just as well be done by the National Tract Society and other similar associations; that it is doing by our pulpits, religious presses, Sunday schools, &c. It is well, however, that more and more should be done, provided it be done by reasoning and expostulation. It is desirable that direct attempts should be made to bring the minds of the American people, to this issue, for it is coming to this, whether we will have a sabbath of seclusion and quietness in the land, or a sabbath, taken up in part with sports, with military reviews, theatric exhibitions, &c., as it is now, in the old world. Our own preference has been sufficiently expressed.

We desire that our liberality should be understood as well as our strictness. There is no need that these qualities, in their true character, should ever be separated.

We have no idea, then, of anything as being a violation of the sabbath, which promotes the real welfare and happiness of the people. However strong the argument may be made for the divine injunction of this observance, it will not be contended, we presume, that the mode of the observance for Christians, is regulated by any particular precepts. This is left to our serious and devout judgment of expediency. Whatever is expedient on this day, whatever will most tend to promote order, virtue, happiness, in society, is right. 'The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath.'

There are many, we apprehend, who think it necessary to hold the mind in a peculiar, fixed, and somewhat constrained posture, who feel as if they ought to put an unusual tension on their thoughts and emotions throughout that day, thus interpreting what they suppose to be written in scripture, that they 'should not think their own thoughts' on the sabbath. We cannot agree with them. Severe studies, it is found, require relaxation immediately to follow them. We would have a state of devotion unusually fixed and intense during a portion of the day, but for another portion, we can see nothing to object to easy and cheerful conversation, to the kind and enlivening intercourse of relatives and friends, happy and grateful to God, that he has opened to them amidst the pressing cares of life, a season of rest, devotion, and social intercourse.

We wish that we could see more of innocent freedom of

feeling, conversation, and action on the sabbath, consistent with the purposes of the day. We earnestly wish that it might be a more cheerful and happy day among us, that light to hallow it may not only kindle in the eye of devotion, but may be reflected from the bright and joyous face of society. We trust that more interesting religious books are to be brought into common use, and that more of such will be written, which may profitably and pleasantly fill up some of the hours of the day of rest. A religious work, taking a wide survey of nature, and drawing aid from all the sciences, something after the manner of Paley's *Natural Theology*, might convey a vast amount of knowledge, while it constantly gave aid, strength, familiarity, and habits to devotion. Our Sunday schools and juvenile libraries are doing much for children, and warrant the cheering hope that a generation is yet to rise up to whom the sabbath will not be a day of *ennui* and weariness, but a day full of pursuits and uses, intellectual, spiritual, free, and joyful.

We have now given some views of the sabbath in connexion with the measures lately adopted for promoting its stricter observance. We fear that the value of this institution is not sufficiently considered, and that the recent excitement has tended rather to provoke hostility, than to promote respect for it. These are our reasons for now going more at large into the grounds for this observance. We think that this is a matter to be commended to every man's sober judgment and sense of duty. The sabbath is not a neutral, negative, or merely harmless institution; but it is a mighty engine for good or for evil. Every good citizen may be fairly called on to consider how he would have it used. This consideration we ask for. We ask that it may be serious, deliberate, and definite, and then we only desire that every man should act according to his convictions, and not say, 'It is a very good institution,' and yet allow himself to do things which tend to bring neglect or abuse upon it.

We do not intend to go into the question of divine authority for the observance of it. Yet we may say, in passing, that there is obviously a strong argument by way of inference on this subject. If God has appointed a sabbath in ancient times, whether it is binding upon us as a law, or not, it is, at least, recommended to us as an observance; the more especially as the same reasons still exist, that were anciently assigned for it.

But we proceed to offer some remarks on the utility of the

institution. And if this shall be made to appear, we shall need no further proof of its being the will of God that we should observe it.

Let us clear away all obstructions to our argument, then, by saying, in the first place, that the sabbath does no harm. It is, at least, an innocent institution. It abridges no man's comforts. It does not promote among us, either vice or vicious idleness. It has been justly objected to the frequent holidays which are allowed in some countries, that they are injurious to the habits of the community in both these respects. But the sabbath, as it is generally observed in this country, is not liable to the same objections. And even in the countries just alluded to, the sabbath, from the holier associations connected with the day, is by no means perverted to the same excess as the common holidays. The idle and vicious everywhere, find less to facilitate their pleasures on Sunday, than on other days. Riot and revelling have more to encounter in the stillness and seclusion of the sabbath. The voice of public remonstrance is more clearly heard, and vice is obliged to restrain its boisterousness and to shut itself up within narrower bounds. The sabbath, then, is not a promoter of vice or vicious idleness.

But it is possible that some one may have incautiously taken up the opinion that the suspension of labor is an injury to business, that it is so much time subtracted from the opportunities of acquiring property, that the sabbath makes him poorer than he otherwise might be. But rest from toil, both for man and beast, is not only humane, but is requisite. Neither can labor continually. The human race would dwindle and become dwarfish with severer toils. There must be therefore about the present amount of leisure. Now, suppose, to recur to the topic of morality, suppose the sabbath abolished, and that two hours are added to every day's leisure and recreation, with no restraint upon them, no regular employment for those hours; and can any one think that they will be more safely and properly used than the hours of the sabbath? We presume not. Again; in the six days of labor, there is time and more than time enough for all the business of life; time to till the earth and gather the harvest; time enough for the mechanic arts to supply all the demands of human convenience and even extravagance; time to exchange and barter all the commodities of trade. If men could labor more; if they should employ more hours in business, they would not produce, they would not ac-

comply more than they do ; because they already meet the demand.

We are willing to listen to any reasonable objection that can be brought against this view of the case. It may be said that men do want more comforts ; some, better food ; others, better apparel ; others, still, better dwellings. Admit it ; and admit for the sake of argument, what is not true, that they have the physical ability to labor more. But would they ? And would they be any better off than they now are ? We say, no. For why have not the body of mankind more of all these comforts as it is ? We answer, it is not for the want of time to get them, but for the want of a strong and decided taste and inclination for them ; it is because other and bad tastes and inclinations are stronger. If therefore we were to throw the sabbath in with the days of labor, not only is it true that men could not do any more, but it is certain they would not do any more, for the real comfort of life.

The argument then is strong either way. There must be a certain amount of relaxation from toil, a certain amount of leisure in life. Man cannot labor more than six sevenths of the time. Neither their strength, nor comfort, nor health will permit it. And if they could labor more, they would not do it to any better purpose. It is not for the want of time that men are not better off, but for the want of sobriety, wisdom, and virtue. These the sabbath promotes, and we are now prepared to pass from the negative to the direct part of the argument.

And, we say, in the second place, that the sabbath not only does no harm, that it is neither a painful, nor vitiating, nor impoverishing institution ;—but that it is, in many ways and eminently, useful ; that it does great good, and has the fairest possible claim for a respectful and careful observance.

First, it does good by its influence on the comfort and order, on the social condition and virtue of the world. And in this connexion, let us resume for a moment and extend a little one of the views which have already been stated. The sabbath provides relief from toil without interfering in the least with the accumulation of property. But this is not all ; it provides for us this relief, without exposing us to the usual temptations of idleness. Nay, more than this ; it saves us from an idleness which otherwise would threaten to overwhelm the community with disorder, vice, and ruin. Let us see if this is stating too much.

One of the most prolific sources of vice, is a negligent and careless idling away of time, the passing of hours and days without any object of active pursuit. The industrious, the busy are less likely to be victims of evil habits. Life, to such, has a stimulus in its pursuits, that renders it less dependent on artificial excitement. But when there is an interruption of employments, whether from necessity, or from choice, then the mind is open to bad impressions; it is weary of its own dullness, and is ready to pursue every phantom of pleasure, and to rush into every excess of riot. The house of the soul is empty and swept, and garnished with pictures of pleasure, and seven other spirits, worse than had before possessed it, enter in and fill it with disorder and defilement.

Now recollect that the demand for the comforts and luxuries of life is already more than supplied; that many have more of them already than they can pay for; that the market, the granary, and the warehouse are full, and filled, too, with the products of six days' labor; and it follows from all this, as well as from the necessary infirmity of the body, that a seventh portion of time remains to be disposed of in leisure. What shall be done with it? What kind of leisure shall it be? It were better, we hesitate not to say, that men should sleep through every seventh portion of time, than to give it up to common sports and holidays and all the temptations of ordinary indolence. Suppose it were so; that by the ordination of Providence, by a law and necessity of our nature, the whole human race should sink to this deep repose, during every seventh period of time; should we not think we saw wisdom in that appointment, since by it man would be preserved from the danger of unoccupied leisure?

But now that we are waked to life and activity on the seventh period, as we are on every other day, and must do something with this time, do we not almost, as it were, hear the voice of God saying, 'Sanctify this day and keep it holy. Devote it to sober and innocent relaxation, and to the sacred duties of piety. Since you have been enabled to labor through six days, and a season of grateful release is appointed to you, and appointed to you by the very necessities of your nature, devote a part of this season to acknowledging and praising the God of life and of all its mercies. Since a rest is appointed for you, let it be an innocent and a hallowed rest.'

And if this so evident voice of reason, of nature, and religion, were disobeyed, if the sabbath were abolished, we might well

expect that the consequences would be evil. It would not be difficult to anticipate them.

Labor would be more irregular, and so would leisure; and life would become more disorderly. Irregular and disproportioned application, moreover, would create not only an unnatural desire, but, men would think, an unusual demand, not for relaxation alone, but for indulgence. They would compensate their longer and severer labors with larger draughts of intemperance or longer periods of sloth, and the tendencies of idleness would be strengthened by the pleas of industry. The moderate and decent amusements of life, we might fear, would take a retrograde course to that state of unchristianized barbarism, where one whole season of the year is given to toil, and another considerable portion to indolence and consequent licentiousness.

All this, it is true, is said on the presumption, already stated, that the sabbath itself is not exposed to the worst effects of indolence. And this is perfectly evident from the nature of the institution and from fact. The regularity of its recurrence, the limitation of time, the sacredness of the season, and the devotional employments that are assigned to it, all concur to prevent that vicious idling and indulgence to which other seasons of leisure are exposed. There are no shows or sports in the public places to attract attention. Few, if any, are seen lying about the corners of the streets with vacant and listless minds, ready to be caught by every bait of folly and dissipation. Idleness and vice, we repeat, do not find their usual opportunities and resorts and gratifications. This is certain from the fact, that none are so averse to the institution as the idle and the vicious. Our argument then is this, and we consider it an important, and, we may say, a novel one. Men must have leisure. The great point, and we can easily conceive that it might be felt to be a very difficult point, with the moralist and legislator, is to make this leisure safe and advantageous. Now, nothing can do this so well as the institution of the sabbath; nothing else can do it at all. We are persuaded that the social benefits of this institution have been but slightly developed, and that they have been but partially considered by the body of the community. We believe, indeed, that the single argument now offered for the sabbath, is quite sufficient to vindicate its injunction and its observance. It takes up, not to say that it blesses a portion of the superfluous time of the commu-

nity, which, otherwise, would immediately be perverted. It is a preventive of indefinite evil, mischief, and disorder.

But there are other social advantages and pleasures connected with the sabbath, that we must not entirely pass over. The relief from toil is one, that deserves to be distinctly mentioned. It is an acknowledged comfort and pleasure, by itself considered. But it is still more important in its effects. We entertain the opinion that, in modern times, and with multitudes certainly, labor is too severe; too severe at least for the best promotion of health, happiness, and virtue. We think this is often true, both of intellectual and corporeal labor. Ambition and covetousness are driving men too urgently. The student and the merchant are too eager for their respective acquisitions. The laborer is too hard pressed by his necessities, or by competition with others. He thinks—falsely indeed, but not unnaturally thinks—that artificial stimulants are necessary to sustain him. And the men of more intellectual toils find, in their exhaustion, or their disappointment and mental miseries, an apology for the same thing.

Whether our readers fully agree with us in all these remarks or not, we think they will allow that business is apt to be too engrossing for our comfort and peace of mind, that labor is too oppressive to many, and study is often too intense. The struggle and clamor of earthly pursuits presses us on every side. We are often burdened and weary with our cares. But how much worse would all this be if there were no sabbath! How grateful, how needful, in such a state of things, is a pause, a rest, a season of retirement! We could almost call the sabbath holy, because it is a time of rest. It invites the noisy and toiling world to stillness, seclusion, and repose. It spreads upon the troubled waters of life a holy calm. For our own part, we confess that we venerate the good old sabbath, when silence was in all our borders, and upon all our shores, and by every way-side. If it must pass away—we trust it need not—but if it must pass, we shall be among those that linger about its parting footsteps, and cherish its remembrance. We ask not for superstition, we deprecate it; we deprecate it most of all, on this happy day. But that suspension of toils and cares, that silence coming amidst the noise and bustle of the world, is not only good, but it is beautiful. It shadows forth the silence of the mind. Nay, it is such. It is the silence of reflection and piety. It hushes the raging passions. It checks

for a while the strife of gain, and ambition, and pleasure. It soothes the anxious and troubled thoughts of men, the chafing cares, the wearing sorrows of life ; it soothes to rest. Into the ear that is vexed and deafened with the clamoring voices of this world, it whispers peace. Must not the weary hail it? Will not the busy welcome it? Does not the social world need it?

Nor is this all. The sabbath calls men to their own homes. It affords to many the only considerable opportunity that they enjoy for domestic intercourse. It 'writes holiness' upon the walls of our domestic habitations. It makes them more venerable and attractive.

It calls us also to the house of prayer. For there could be no public worship unless there were a time fixed for it, and fixed by common consent. We speak of public worship now as a social benefit. It brings us together. It keeps us from being strangers to each other, as many of us otherwise would be. It affords occasion for kind recognitions and friendly greetings, for mutual prayers and sympathies. All the ties of life are strengthened, and all its charities are softened by such an intercourse.

But all the social advantages of the sabbath are more fully secured by what we intended finally to notice, its influence on the culture of a religious disposition. On this ground, without any other argument, we might confidently maintain the expediency of the institution.

And in taking this view of the subject, we are willing that there should be the most sober and prudent consideration of all those things which determine the expediency of any appropriation, either of our time or thoughts. It is certainly worth our inquiry, what proportion of our life should be given to labor or business, and what to leisure, and how that leisure shall be employed. We do not doubt that a considerable part of life is as wisely as it is imperiously demanded for the support and comfort of life. It is no less evident that another large portion must be given to repose and recreation. But when we have done this, have we made all our appropriations? When we have labored, and are weary ; when we have rested and are refreshed, are all the demands of our reason and conscience and spiritual nature satisfied? We are dwellers upon the earth, indeed, and earth should have its dues. But we are, also, expectants of another state, and has not immortality also

something in it to be considered and provided for? We are dwellers upon the earth, indeed; but the space of our residence is brief, the time is short, the places that know us will soon know us no more; we are hasty wayfarers, who travel a day and tarry for a night; before us and near us, is another world, and one of endless existence. Will not a man meditate on that future being? Will he not pause in the rushing career of life, and think where it is leading him? Will he not be glad to find some open spaces amidst the crowding objects of sense? Will not he—the being whose welfare lies in his own mind, whose prospect is the immortality of that mind, who holds this mysterious and awful connexion with unknown ages, who as surely as he lives now, is to live forever—will he not welcome seclusion, and the time of deep thought and humble prayer? Is it not above all things meet and proper that he should have such seasons?

A sabbath for man—weak, tempted, toiling, burdened, troubled, sinful man! what ordinance could be so appropriate? Everything in his nature, in the constitution of his life, in his necessities, both his moral and physical necessities, requires it. Toil asks for its repose. Virtue stretches out her feeble hand for its aid. Society, order, government lean upon it. God has ordained it. In the very constitution of things, he has made labor to cease at times, and life to pause. And we cannot, with impunity, throw back the gift of leisure or turn it to a profane use.

But, a sabbath for the spiritual man—how emphatically needful! For the being who has a soul, and yet is ever prone to live but in the senses; for the being whose welfare consists in religion, and yet who is prone to make his treasure out of wealth, or fame; for one who is immortal, but whose thoughts are fixed to this point of time; for this being so tempted, so beset with cares, so bewildered with the mingling voices of conscience, interest, and pleasure, so thoughtless, forgetful, negligent of his highest good, how needful is a Sabbath! How necessary is retirement from the throng of his pursuits, seclusion from the noise and turmoil of the world, still and solemn meditation, calm and deep devotion! How necessary that he should have times appointed to bring serious reflection to him, to break the ever gathering spells of worldly fear and hope and anxiety, and to open to him the vision of eternity! Think how vast and how unspeakably precious is the interest com-

mitted to him, that the time of all coming ages will only unfold more and more its immensity and value ; and is one day in seven too much to bestow upon the particular care and consideration of it ? Does it too frequently bring this infinite interest of the soul to a solemn account ? Will the immortal spirit, as it is taking its departure for the eternal world, judge that the sabbaths came too often or were made occasions of too profound a meditation, too earnest a prayer ?

This is an argument of that clearness and certainty, that objection only strengthens it. For who object ? that is, who from feeling object ? If not the pious, if not those who are striving most to walk in the ways of religion, let it be considered whether all other objection, we speak not of any speculative question, but whether all other objection from the heart is not an argument for its expediency—whether the fallacy of the objection, in whatever mind it may exist, does not prove that mind to need a sabbath, a season of retirement and reflection, a season of thought and self-inspection ? If the sabbath shall be set aside for such an objection, religion itself can share no better fate. It is here, in fine, as it is in civil affairs, that hostility to the law only the more proves its necessity.

We have one general remark to offer on the mode of observing the sabbath, with which we will relieve the patience of our readers. It is often said, there are ‘cases of necessity and mercy,’ which form exceptions from the sober and retired observance of the day, and it is asked when these occur ? We answer by the following rule ;—not to do that which any considerable class of the community may do for as good a reason, and thus undermine the very foundation of the institution. This rule cuts off all the pleas of mere acquisition, convenience, and pleasure, because they may be the pleas of the whole community. It involves the only safe principle. The question is, whether, if other men should take liberties from our indulgence, if they should transact business, make journies, or engage in parties of pleasure, for the same reason that we do, or may do, whether there would be any sabbath at all ? We ought not to do that which is saved from being ruinous to the community, only because it is confined to us. A good institution ought not to exist in spite of us, ought not to exist by our suffering. This is not the treatment of it which becomes good members of society. No ; it demands our countenance, our cooperation, our hearty and consistent aid. Besides, if it does

exist in spite of us, who can tell how much our habitual or occasional departures from the rule now laid down, may tend to weaken the public respect for it, and to lead to its general neglect. Our actions are often the results of slight reflection or momentary impulse, but their effects may be experienced by generations to come.

The cases of necessity and mercy, indeed, are allowed ; but they are few ; they are exceptions ; their admission cannot disturb the general practice. The pleas of interest, of convenience, of pleasure, are many ; they involve principles ; they embrace multitudes ; and it becomes us to see well to it that they are just and safe.

ART. VIII.—1. *A Plea against Religious Controversy, delivered on Sunday, Feb. 8, 1829.* By N. L. FROTHINGHAM, Minister of the First Church in Boston. Boston. Munroe & Francis. 1829. 8vo. pp. 16.

2. *The Final Tendency of the Religious Disputes of the Present Day, impartially considered.* By OLD EXPERIENCE. Boston. 1829. 12mo. pp. 29.

IF the above publications, together with two or three others which might be named, are to be considered as signs of the times, one of the controversies of the day is likely to be, whether there shall be, or ought to be any controversy or not. The cry against religious disputes, can hardly have any other result than to produce a fresh dispute. The attempt to put an end to discussions and divisions of opinion only adds to their number. Of this event we entertain neither doubt nor fear. Believing as we do, in the necessity of controversy, we are certain of its continuance ; and holding it to be useful, we care not how many topics it embraces.

The abuses of controversy we sincerely dread, and would wish to see abolished as fast and as thoroughly as possible. But that this really glorious and happy work is to be accomplished or forwarded by those who would abolish controversy itself, we are not led very sanguinely to expect, from the spirit which is manifested in some of their writings. Their good and peaceful intentions we ought not to question ; but the manner

in which they express them, does not appear to us to be always in accordance with those intentions, nor the best calculated to promote harmony and love. 'Your characters are sinking,' says Old Experience to ministers who engage in controversy, 'and will soon go down beyond all redemption.' 'Forbear; or the holiest hands will soon be lifted up to hurl you from your angry thrones.' Now this may be a friendly and well intended warning, but it is anything rather than a mild one; and is in far too denunciatory and presuming a style to come with the best grace from the lips of a peace-maker.

But we mean to be as little personal on this subject as the occasion will permit. We respect the motives of those who differ from us; we respect their minds, characters, and persons; but their opinions on the point at issue we do not respect, because we hold them to be erroneous, and cannot greatly respect that which we believe to be so. We are on the same ground, in this particular, with everybody else. Our own errors, though we hope they will be regarded with lenity, we cannot imagine will be absolutely respected. We trust we shall speak with candor and charity; but we cannot speak of what seems to us error, with the same deference as of what seems to us important truth. Without further preamble we address ourselves to our subject.

There are many excellent things, as is well known by those who are accustomed to reflect, which, being liable to abuse, have been so grossly abused, that their true nature has been misconceived, their virtues overlooked, their contact avoided, and their names held as words of evil omen, and reproach, and fear. Among these, controversy, and more particularly religious controversy, stands as one of the most prominent instances. With many, who are honest and disposed to inquiry, it is a word of terror, preventing them from a thorough search after truth. With others, who are indifferent and slothful, it is an excuse, which saves them from the trouble of investigation, and behind which they retire, as behind a secure and honorable intrenchment, whenever they are called on to come out into the field. Under the influence of different impulses, they one and all lift up their voices against controversy, unholy controversy, as they indiscriminately term it, and wish to banish it from the world, and never hear of it any more. They are not aware, perhaps, of the wildness of that wish; they are not aware that if controversy were banished, half of the mental light which

now guides and cheers us would be exiled too ; that their wish is such a one as his would be, who, incommoded by the heats of summer, should pray for the extinction of the sun.

In undertaking a general defence of controversy, we shall endeavour to state its principal uses, as we conceive they are pointed out to us by the plain indications of fact and experience.

What is controversy ? It is debate ; the agitation of contrary opinions ; the test and trial of assumed truth. It is question and reply, assertion and denial, statement and counter statement, on all subjects of inquiry and human knowledge. Almost all truth is established by it ; almost all enlightened faith is founded on it. We were made to differ. Our trust in the wisdom of the Maker compels us to believe that it is right that we should differ ; and more than this, we think we can see why it is right that we should differ. This difference produces controversy, and controversy produces improvement. If all men saw and perceived things alike, they would be content with what they saw and knew, and would not go on to examine and improve. For there is improvement in the exercise and contest of the faculties alone, even though truth should not always nor altogether be the reward of the exercise and contest ; but that truth is often and in some valuable measure the reward, admits of positive proof.

What has enlightened men but controversy ; but the comparison and discussion of different questions and opinions ? Who have enlightened mankind but controvertists ; men who have doubted, questioned, denied, and disproved notions or systems which were universally received, venerated, and acted upon ? What was the establishment of the true solar system but a controversy ? Did it take place without dispute ? What is the whole science of metaphysics but a controversy ? Are men agreed, or were they ever agreed about it ? Was this new world discovered without a controversy ? Were these young States separated from the parent kingdom without a controversy ; a controversy begun by the tongue and pen, and continued and concluded by resistance and the sword ? What was the abolition of the slave trade in the British Parliament but a controversy ? Did the measure go through quietly, and by acclamation ; or were its supporters checked and resisted at every step they took ? Who have elicited the highest moral truths but those engaged in controversy ? Who have been the great

of the earth but controvertists? Locke and Newton* and Milton,† philosophers, and literary reformers, have all been controvertists. All great politicians have been controvertists; and the science of politics is a continual controversy. Burke could not have been more misunderstood, than when it was said of him that he 'to party gave up what was meant for mankind.' A false and narrow view indeed of the application and effects of those giant powers, which, excited by the aspects of the age at home and abroad, leapt into the arena where they were wanted, and where they performed their part to the admiration of that and after time. Who can wish that he had been a writer of calm disquisitions? Who would give up his energetic speeches, and his noble Letter on the French Revolution, for all the essays on the sublime and beautiful which he could have written in his life? The truth is, that what he gave up to party, he gave to mankind, and in the most efficient and most permanent way. It is the exigences of affairs, the demands of mind, the fear of innovation on the one hand and the determination to innovate and improve on the other, which cause controversies; and dark and stagnant would the world be without them.

If it is said that we have spoken of merely worldly and secular subjects and disputes, which are no authority nor example for controversies in religion, a theme which ought to be kept sacred and separate from all dissension; we answer, keep religion sacred and separate from all defilement, all debasement, all perversion, and all misapprehension, if you can, and then we will grant that it should be preserved from discussions and contentions;

* 'Sir Isaac Newton, I am told,' says Old Experience, 'did not find the doctrine of gravitation drawn from him by a popular debate; he hated such debates.' The doctrine of gravitation was not drawn forth, but still it was confirmed and spread by debate—not popular debate, to be sure, because the people knew nothing about the matter—but learned debate. Let Old Experience look into Playfair's Dissertation on the Progress of Mathematical and Physical Science, and he will see that though Newton may have hated debates, he was, nevertheless, sometimes a debater.

† John Milton's most powerful, eloquent, and spirit-stirring controversial tracts, are noticed by Old Experience with the passing remark that their author 'sometimes dabbled in polemic mud.' Grant us patience! The *Areopagitica* 'polemic mud!' The Reason of Church Government, 'polemic mud!' There is always a more excellent way, he observes, to promote and find truth, than by controversy, which never promotes it; and he then adduces as examples of this more excellent way, Sir Isaac Newton's doctrine of gravitation, and Milton's *Paradise Lost*. What truth is established in the *Paradise Lost*? Is there any discovery in it? Is the example at all to the purpose? And if it was, what would it prove, but that truth was sometimes found out and confirmed without controversy?

but as this is, and has been from the beginning of the world, impossible, there is no other way to purify and properly to understand it, but through the paths of controversy. On this topic we shall go high and go confidently for our proofs; asserting that from no source whatever have mankind derived so much light, improvement, and liberty, as from religious controversies.

The Reformation was a religious controversy, an active and violent and extensive one. All who were engaged in carrying it on were necessarily controvertists; and the very breath of Luther's life was controversy. How could it have been otherwise? How could that bold man, and his colleagues and followers, have impugned the existing corruptions and superstitions, without raising up a host to defend them? And what was that attack and defence, what could it be, but a controversy? Ought the attack never to have been made, never to have been persevered in? Let those say so, who value neither truth, nor light, nor liberty. We care not what the doctrines of the reformers were, for they have taught us by their example to reform from them if we see fit and right so to do; and this is the principle, the great principle of the Reformation, which, however dimly brought forward, and however buried amongst other and less important matters, was really and practically at the bottom of the whole, because the right of private judgment was assumed, the moment a word was breathed aloud against the established hierarchy. We will go higher yet for a controversy. Christianity at the very first was a controversy, the Lord's controversy, a controversy with error, pride, hypocrisy, worldliness, and sin. The Prince of Peace himself knew that it was and must be so; that though his religion was intrinsically a religion of peace, he came, in another sense, not to bring peace, but a sword; that the christian faith must inevitably be opposed, and that those who held it must contend for, and with their lips and at the hazard of their lives maintain it. Apostles, confessors, martyrs, fathers, reformers, were controversialists; or they could not have been what they were, nor accomplished what they did. The early history of our religion, as well as the early history of the Reformation of that religion from some of the many and enormous abuses which had attached themselves to it, was a history of noble, honest, unavoidable struggle, dispute, controversy. Posterity are apt to forget this; to forget, while they talk about the blessings of Christianity, and of the Reformation, that there would have

been no Christianity and no Reformation without controversy ; for they were themselves controversies, and the mightiest which have been ever waged.*

It has been so always. Perhaps all religious controversies have not been productive of improvement ; but we are very sure that there can be no considerable improvement in the theory or even the practice of religion without controversy ; for improvement implies innovation, and innovation provokes resistance. If all men regarded alike a proposed change, and alike acknowledged it to be for the better, there would be no controversy. But this is not the way in which an intended alteration is viewed in the world. By some it will be approved, but there will always be others, who, prompted by conscience, or interest, or policy, or fear, will oppose it. And hence there arises controversy. If an attack on what is believed to be wrong, and the proposition and introduction of what is believed to be right, were to be abandoned in every case of opposition, there might be no controversy, to be sure, but there would be no advancement. We should stand still, always on one spot ; for the intellectual world is not constituted so as to move onward simultaneously and smoothly. The variety and discordances of its materials forbid it. If it moves at all, it must move according to its actual nature and constitution. No single mind advances much, without having controversies with itself. How can it be expected that millions of minds should march forward in line and in perfect harmony ?

* We cannot agree to Mr Frothingham's distinction between a declaration of *facts*, with a consequent struggle, and a declaration of *opinions*, with a consequent struggle, for we should call both of these controversies. Nor do we believe that there was in Christianity no declaration of controvertible and controverted opinions. We should say that the truth was remarkably otherwise. Nor can we conceive how that gentlemen should make up his mind that nothing true and valuable was contended for, and established by the Reformers, but the right of private judgment ; nor how he can say that the Reformation in England was brought about by brute force entirely, without argument and reasoning. Were there no books written against popery at that time ? Had the mass of the people no opinions, no convictions on the subject ? Were the English people of a character tamely to suffer Henry VIII. to impose a religion upon them, while the French people never would suffer their Henry IV. to change theirs, but on the contrary made him change his ? Was not the business of the English Reformation finally settled by the expulsion of James II. from his throne ? Was this done without the expression of the popular mind ? And had there been no controversies, no discussions from the pulpit and the press to produce opinion and conviction in the people ? The fact is, that the argument from history entirely fails the opposers of controversy. They cannot by any possibility get over it.

It is in vain to say, that all which is important in religion is clear and incontrovertible, and that all the rest is not worth disputing about. We might grant that all which is essentially important in religion is plainly to be seen ; but then there are many who will not see ; and there are many, also, who see through such a magnifying medium, that they swell into essentials what others regard as nonessentials, and there is of course a controversy about what is essential and what is not. We are ready to allow, for instance, and not only ready to allow, but anxious to insist, that neither a belief nor disbelief of the doctrine of the trinity, will, of itself, affect favorably or unfavorably a man's salvation. But the greater part of the religious world are not of our mind. They tell us that a disbelief of that doctrine is a soul-destroying error, and they shun us, and denounce and revile us, for presuming to entertain it. What are we to do ? To renounce our opinion, or to hide it, because it is denounced as one which destroys souls ? We hold it to be our distinct duty to controvert the doctrine, in a proper spirit, and a proper manner, till we either disprove it, or prove it to be nonessential ; and we are to continue to do this, till we are acknowledged as equals in all christian privileges. We are bound to do it, for our own happiness, and for that of our opponents ; for charity is the happiness of all, and exclusiveness is the root of bitterness ; and we are very sure that what measure of christian charity there is in the world has been mainly produced by controversy ; has been wrung from the mighty and predominant bodies of Christendom by the opposition, the resistance, the reasonings and proofs steadfastly and perseveringly displayed by those who first had the courage to examine for themselves, and then the far greater and nobler courage to declare the result of their examination. For what courage is there in sitting down and acquiring truth which is kept to one's self, and the acknowledgment of which is evaded on every scrutiny ? There is in it neither courage nor charity.

If it be said that truth will prevail of itself, and by its own power, I answer, that speculative truth is nothing of itself ; nothing which is separate from men's minds. It is that which exists in men's minds, and comes out of men's minds. If it does not come out, it cannot be known ; and if it does come out, and has anything in it peculiar, and opposite to prevalent opinions, then it will certainly be opposed by those who will consider it falsehood and not truth.

We like not discord ; we like not contention ; we know that we are true lovers of peace and charity. But from what we have read, and what we have seen, we are constrained to say that we infinitely prefer the peace and charity which are established through and by controversy, to the peace and charity which are maintained by excluding controversy. We shall show by an example or two, that this is no paradox. There is no religious controversy in Spain. It is full, to be sure, of gross superstition on the one hand, and rank infidelity on the other ; but the Holy Inquisition, in its tender regard for the peace of the church, has taken care that there should be no controversy. Nevertheless, as free and accountable men, we would rather live in England, or here, where controversial pamphlets are coming out every day, than in such a kingdom of peace as that. And in our own country, we must say, without making any invidious comparisons in other respects, that as religious men, we would rather live in this vicinity, than in those places where there is little or no controversy and division of opinion, for the simple reason, that here we are regarded ^{*}as equals in all religious particulars with other men, and are met as equals by them, and there we are not so regarded and met.

Of the abuses and evils of controversy we are well aware ; and it is against these and these alone that the arguments which are levelled at controversy will apply. We are willing to allow, too, that charity is perhaps one of the last lessons which is taught by controversy ; but we are convinced that controversy does teach it, and much more effectually and thoroughly than it can be taught or brought about by a constrained uniformity, or an ignorant silence. And we ought to feel grateful to those original and fearless spirits, who, when dissent from establishments cost more than it does now, were willing to sacrifice their peace and comfort to secure ours.

We have something more to say in favor of free discussion or controversy. It not only conduces to the best peace, the peace of mutual respect, and equal rights and privileges, but to moral and religious activity and advancement. It wakes people up, and keeps them awake to the great and universal duties of benevolence and piety. The interest which they feel in their particular opinions, excites and fosters a general interest in the whole subject of religion. Never are designs of acknowledged utility and importance better attended to, than when a free, enlightened, unshackled community are en-

gaged in open discussions of controverted doctrines. As an example of this we fearlessly cite the recent and present state of our own community, and assert that there is vastly more attention among us to the religious education of youth, to the moral wants of the poor, to the suppression of intemperance, and to various means of elevating the public character, than was paid to such subjects twenty years ago, when there was no controversy, but a very unproductive and deceitful peace. If it is objected, that this is an instance of human imperfection, we answer, be it so ; it is nevertheless human nature, and fact, and necessity.

There is yet another obligation, which in this quarter especially, we owe to controversy. It has exceedingly softened down the most rigid and repulsive features of Calvinism, at the same time that it has exposed them. It has fairly driven from the field some of the horrible dogma of the old school, and forced the very followers of Calvin to forsake, on these points, their master. Not an individual has lately come forward in public defence of the doctrine of infant damnation, though we presume there are still many who privately hold it. This doctrine, undoubtedly held by Calvin, and the majority of real Calvinistic writers, is now kept back from the people, and even its former existence is, with a most extraordinary boldness, supported by as extraordinary evasions, flatly denied by the most notorious, if not the most prominent Calvinist of the day. And we are glad, not that these evasions have been made, but that the doctrine has been disowned, for it was quite time that it should be.

We conclude, then, that controversy, promotes both peace and truth. By peace we mean, as we have intimated before, a state of liberty and security, and equal rights, and mutual respect, which is the only kind of peace which we think worth having. And when we say that controversy promotes truth, we do not mean that it settles altogether and at once every question on which it is exercised, but that it propagates and diffuses sound opinions and useful knowledge, and makes continual encroachments on the domains of error and ignorance. From time to time, indeed, it absolutely settles questions, and banishes them past all returning. And here, as well as elsewhere, we differ entirely from the author of the *Plea against Religious Controversy*. It is one of the strongest points which he attempts to make against controversy, that 'all the specu-

lative questions that have ever been brought into the circle of debate have been always kept there. They often remain,' he says, 'for a long time unnoticed,—despised perhaps, and with good reason,—but they never vanish out of the ring.' Now is this the fact? Can we point to no single question, once agitated, and now laid aside, most probably, forever? Was there not a question in the early christian church, whether converts should or should not undergo the Jewish rite of circumcision? Is not this question settled? There was another question, whether it was lawful to eat meats sacrificed to idols. Is not this at present 'out of the ring?' Are there no speculative questions, once most seriously and warmly canvassed, which are now so completely out of the ring, that nobody remembers what they were about, and cannot even tell their names without turning to an ecclesiastical history? And what if such questions are sometimes revived in a feeble and dying condition, or still remain lingering in some obscure corner of the church; is it nothing that their importance is gone? And what if a valuable truth is never received by every mind in Christendom, is it nothing that controversy carries it to the majority of the intelligent, and that from weakness and contempt it has been brought out into notice and honor? That an absurdity maintains its hold on some or many minds, proves nothing but that there always will be ignorant and stupid people in the world; a truth of which we entertain no doubt.

But how, it is often asked, are the common people to know what to think, or how to act, when the wise and educated so constantly disagree? 'What are we poor sinners to do,' inquires Old Experience, 'when such learned men as yourselves flatly contradict each other?' You are to do precisely what you were put into this world to do. You are to use your reasoning faculties, you are to employ, according to your opportunities, the judgment and discrimination with which you have been endowed in common with the rest of your race. People who have not time nor capacity for extensive and original research, must come to almost all their religious conclusions, except the simplest, by the examination of opposite opinions as they have been discussed in controversy. If they do not examine, they will inevitably be prejudiced, narrow minded, and ignorant. If they do examine, they will meet, it is true, with differing sentiments on many subjects; but we are utterly unable to see why a man's judgment should fail him, the mo-

ment he comes to two conflicting propositions. What was the faculty of judgment given to him for? For the very purpose, as we should think, of choosing, of deciding, of building up his convictions. Now controversy furnishes him with the means of doing this. It places before him the two sides of a question. And what if there should be twenty sides? Let him find out by his natural reason, the candle of the Lord within him, on which of all these sides lies the greatest probability. And even if he comes to the conclusion that the truth is on neither side, he has still come to a conclusion, and it is controversy which has helped him to it.

We have before remarked, that it is to the abuses only, to which controversy is liable, and which it too often falls into, that the arguments against it will apply. The existence of these abuses we acknowledge and deplore; but we do insist that they may be remedied. We insist that controversy may be, and often has been carried on in a manly, vigorous, and decided, and at the same time a fair, candid, and charitable manner. In some manner it must be carried on, so long as mankind disagree with one another in opinion, and set any value on truth. And furthermore we believe that it not only must be, but ought to be carried on, because we esteem it to be the very life of improvement, and are persuaded that the benefits which it confers, far outweigh the abuses which it suffers. Now what is our duty and proper course? To do our utmost to reform and banish these abuses? or set ourselves to silence controversy itself, which we cannot do, and ought not if we could? Can we not effect the former? Is human nature in so abject a state, and christian charity at so low an ebb, that we can none of us discuss a topic, or expose an error, without vilifying each other, and heating ourselves up into a glowing passion? We have better thoughts of humanity, and better hopes of its improvement, than to think so. And we exhort those gentlemen who have been exerting themselves to put a stop to all controversy, to employ their undoubted talents in the far more practicable, and far more useful service of making controversy what it ought to be. Let them leave what is impossible, and devote themselves to what is possible and useful. Let them exercise, as occasion offers, the difficult, but certainly not impracticable, and the more honorable because difficult, virtue of controversial charity, and they will be doing a great good. If a viper should come out of the fire which is

warming a whole circle, and fasten on the hand of any individual, let him, as St Paul did, shake the reptile off; and he will be doing a much wiser thing than if he should angrily address himself to put out the fire.*

For ourselves, our course has been long since taken on this subject, and we have not the least intention of forsaking it. We have enlarged and in some respects altered our work, but it was with the design of embracing a greater variety, and a wider field of topics, and not of deserting any general ground which we had hitherto maintained. We shall probably advert less than before to subjects of a merely local and temporary interest, but both friend and foe entirely mistake us, if they suppose that we are to abandon controversy, and give up the strenuous defence of religious truth. We mean to speak on more questions than before, and to speak upon all as openly and decidedly as ever.

ART. IX.—*Memoir of Mrs Ann H. Judson, late Missionary to Burmah, including a History of the American Baptist Mission in the Burman Empire.* By JAMES D. KNOWLES, Pastor of the Second Baptist Church in Boston. Boston. Lincoln & Edmands. 1829. 12mo. pp. 324.

WE have read this volume with much interest. It exhibits a life of remarkable adventure, exposure, and sufferings, sustained, as we doubt not, by an unwavering trust in God, and by many excellent virtues. Whatever diversity of opinion may be entertained as to the wisdom, or even the propriety of the course, which was at first voluntarily adopted, and afterwards, in part from necessity pursued, no one can read these Memoirs without admiration of the constancy, heroism, and self-sacrifice, which almost without an exception, from her first departure from her native land to the day of her death, Mrs Judson seems to have maintained. Some allowances, undoubtedly, must be made for the unavoidable colorings of biography. The partiality of friendship, and even the mere attempt at description, will give a prominence to incidents and virtues, to which they are not entitled. And sometimes, without any intention to ex-

* The motto of the tract by Old Experience, is, *There came a viper out of the heat.* Notwithstanding his signature, Old Experience, we understand, is not an old man.

aggerate, an action or a quality may be made to appear extraordinary, which to the eye of the actual observer, and viewed in connexion with the passing circumstances of real life, would seem to be entitled to no special regard. Thus it is, that biography, however on the whole true and faithful, becomes a deception. And when death has once put its seal to a character, the sacredness due to the memory of the departed, our love of their virtues, quickened by our sense of their loss, and forgetfulness of their failings, disposes us to give a value to what had never before seemed extraordinary, and to confer praises, which, as long as they were living among us, even friendship itself would have thought extravagant.

We would not be understood to apply these remarks particularly to the subject of these Memoirs, but as just limitations to biography in general. The incidents in the life of Mrs Judson are, without the slightest exaggeration, of the most extraordinary nature, such as the records of few indeed of her sex, and not many of ours, can exhibit. They demanded, and they produced, uncommon qualities. In the most literal and extended meaning of the terms, her history might be recorded in the very words of the most faithful and patient of all christian missionaries. For, for months and even years, 'she was in journeyings often, in perils of water, in perils of robbers, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in weariness and painfulness, in hunger and thirst.' Of every one of these dangers, her history, which we have no reason to doubt is authentic, gives some examples; and though it is impossible to say, with what fears and doubts and misgivings, never recorded, and by herself soon forgotten, they may have been attended, yet with all the allowances, that can be made for these, her character must have been marked by extraordinary energy and a most sustaining faith.

We believe the most prominent events of her life, connected as they inseparably are, with the history of foreign missions, have been repeatedly published. And probably the readers of the *Missionary Herald*, and of similar publications, will not find much in this volume, not already familiar to them. Still, it has the merit of a faithful compilation, and particularly, the merit, which in such works is not to be accounted small, of permitting the subject to speak, that the reader may judge for himself.

The most prominent passages of Mrs Judson's history may be briefly recapitulated.

She was a native of Bradford, in this State, the daughter of pious and respectable parents, still living ; and was educated in the academy of that town, being a companion and cotemporary there of Mrs Harriet Newell, whose name and early death are justly celebrated in the annals of foreign missions. She is represented as pursuing her studies with success, as an object of affection and esteem with her friends, giving early evidence of that ardor of temperament, decision, and perseverance, which were afterwards so remarkably developed in her life. She is represented as a gay, volatile girl, of a joyous spirit, fond of dress and amusement, and thinking little of religion. She was early taught by her mother, who, however, she tells us, was herself then ignorant of true religion, to abstain from the vices, to which children are liable, and therefore she said her prayers night and morning, and abstained from her usual play on Sundays. All this she afterwards considered as indicative of a very worldly heart ; and in her private journal, she presents it in strong contrast, stronger, as we believe, than just views of religion will warrant, with the deep and serious convictions, of which, at about the age of sixteen, at a time of awakening in Bradford, she became the subject. She then discovered the vileness and depravity of her heart, thought she saw new beauties in the way of salvation by Christ, and under these feelings, and with many devout resolutions, became a member of the church in Bradford. The various exercises of her mind from this period are detailed in her journals and letters with evident tenderness and sincerity.

‘The event,’ says her biographer, ‘which determined the nature of her future life, was her marriage with Mr Judson.’ Her acquaintance with him first commenced at Bradford, when he was attending an association of ministers there, and was soon followed by an engagement of marriage, including the resolution to take part with him in his great missionary enterprise. As events of this class always find a ready interest in the human breast, and as this marriage was attended with peculiar circumstances, we shall extract a letter addressed by Mr Judson to the father of the lady, requesting his consent ; and it will be freely admitted, that he was seeking no slight favor.

‘After mentioning to Deacon Hasseltine, that he had offered marriage to his daughter, and that she had said something about consent of parents,’ Mr Judson proceeds, as remarks the compiler, in this ‘*eloquent*’ strain ;—

“I have now to ask, whether you can consent to part with your daughter early next spring, to see her no more in this world; whether you can consent to her departure for a heathen land, and her subjection to the hardships and sufferings of a missionary life; whether you can consent to her exposure to the dangers of the ocean; to the fatal influence of the southern climate of India; to every kind of want and distress; to degradation, insult, persecution, and perhaps a violent death. Can you consent to all this, for the sake of him who left his heavenly home, and died for her and for you; for the sake of perishing, immortal souls; for the sake of Zion, and the glory of God? Can you consent to all this, in hope of soon meeting your daughter in the world of glory, with a crown of righteousness, brightened by the acclamations of praise which shall redound to her Saviour from heathens saved, through her means, from eternal wo and despair?”

This is certainly an extraordinary document in the annals of courtship. There was no want of fairness and sincerity in stating the difficulties of the case, and they were not without their reward; for, notwithstanding the greatness of the blessing sought, and the inevitable dangers the whole enterprise involved, consent was given, and the parties were married, in February 1812. On the following day Mr Judson with Mr Newell were ordained as missionaries at Salem, and on the nineteenth of that month embarked in the brig *Caravan* for Calcutta.

The incidents of their voyage; the inconveniency, sicknesses, and dangers, inseparable from a life at sea, which Johnson has described as including in itself the miseries of a jail, with the danger superadded of being drowned; their safe arrival at Calcutta; the difficulties they were at once called to encounter with the British Bengal government, who absolutely forbade them to remain as missionaries, and ordered their immediate return to America; the conversion of Mr and Mrs Judson to the Baptist faith; the consequent dissolution of their connexion with the American Board, on whom they depended for support; their departure from Calcutta for the Isle of France, after painful deliberations as to the most desirable station for their labors; the affliction they must naturally have endured in the early death of so faithful and interesting a companion as Mrs Harriet Newell; their adoption by the Baptist General Convention at Philadelphia in 1814, as their missionaries; their visit to Madras, and at length, after many trials, their arrival at Rangoon, a flourishing city of the Bur-

man empire, and the principal scene of their future labors, and sufferings; their domestic anxieties and bereavement; the sickness of Mrs Judson, and her visit for the restoration of her health to America; her return to her husband in 1823; the calamities consequent on the war between the British and the Burmans; the scenes of horror and anguish to which the missionaries were exposed at Ava, and which, with untired constancy, even with the soul of a martyr and the patience of a saint, Mrs Judson endured; and finally, her death, at Amherst,* during the absence of her husband, in October 1826, in consequence of the long and complicated sufferings to which she had been exposed; these, with many other connected incidents, are the prominent passages of her adventurous history, and are described with the interest, which events so remarkable, and an example of female fortitude, so heroic, could not fail to inspire.

Some interesting views of the nature of the government, state of society, manners, and religion of the Burmese are exhibited, which our limits will not permit us to notice.

The great consideration, which the perusal of this volume, and indeed of the whole history of foreign missions, forces upon our attention, is involved in the single question of the expediency, wisdom, and utility of the whole enterprise, on which it is founded. An obvious, and very rational inquiry, first of all, presents itself. What has been the fruit, or what may reasonably be expected to be the fruit, of all these labors, and sufferings; of all these privations, sacrifices, sicknesses, and deaths? The answer is, as yet, the conversion, real or only external, of a few native heathens, principally of very humble condition, to the faith of Christianity; the acquisition by a few missionaries of the language of the country; the consequent translation of some or all of our sacred books; and the ability of preaching the gospel to the natives in their own tongue. We stop not to inquire as to the accuracy with which the languages are obtained, or the correctness of the translations that have been made, or the sincerity of the converts who have been gained, or the qualifications of the missionaries themselves. For though each of these subjects involves essential considerations, and to our view, is fraught with objections of vital importance, yet neither our limits nor

* Another settlement in the Burman Empire, probably so named from Lord Amherst, late Governor General of India.

inclination will now permit us to discuss them. Yet, as in the instance immediately before us—and the example of Mrs Judson must certainly be regarded as the fairest possible representation of all the rest—it is our deliberate conviction, that the whole enterprise was uncalled for, and that these immense labors, expenses, and sufferings, at first voluntarily undertaken, might have been spared. Had the same patience, fidelity, and courage, nay, any considerable portion of these martyr virtues been exhibited at home, in any scenes of duty or suffering, to which the providence of God had undeniably appointed her, we could hardly by any language in our power convey a just sense of their excellence. Neither can we now distrust the sincerity of the motives, by which Mrs Judson and others, who with her have renounced country and friends in the cause of religion, were actuated. We would not, but upon the most undeniable testimony, yield ourselves to the suspicion, that such sacrifices and such sorrows, with death itself, were not sustained by a true love of God, by a sincere faith in his Son, and by an unfeigned concern for the salvation of souls. Yet without the odiousness of so uncharitable suspicions, it requires certainly no profound observation of human character and conduct to believe, that motives, at first, unmixed, pure, and honorable, may call to their aid others, far inferior; that what is begun in a true benevolence may afterwards be carried on and increased with a leaven of selfishness; and that regard to consistency, the pride of perseverance, the very excitement that comes with obstacles, and especially a passion for distinction, may insensibly mingle themselves with higher feelings, and yet the prevailing motive remain sincere and holy. This is not, we apprehend, greatly to disparage human virtue. Perhaps, the reflexion should rather lead us to adore the Father of our spirits, who has so constituted us, as to enable us to enlist in the cause of virtue the inferior principles of our nature, and to strengthen ourselves amidst the dangers and difficulties, not seldom attendant on duty, by uniting the most spiritual and disinterested to the more earthly affections with which he has endued us.

We are disposed to think these remarks are to be applied to Mrs Judson. We honor the noble zeal she exhibited in the cause of her Master, and for the salvation of her benighted fellow creatures. We should deem it a great injustice to

indulge the suspicions, and still more, to utter the calumnies, with which enterprises like hers, and, as her Memoirs intimate, her own motives, in particular, have been assailed. But we repeat it, as our most serious conviction, that she had better have remained at home ; that her path of duty was marked out for her by Providence within the limits, if not of her own domestic circle and religious friendships, yet at least of her native land. Perhaps it might raise a smile in our readers, if we should repeat in such a connexion the plain saying, 'that a woman's sphere of duty is at home ;' yet we think it applies in its full truth and obligation even here. What is more prominent in the history of foreign missions, and of missionaries' wives, than the journal of their sicknesses, the births of their children, their maternal cares, their domestic sorrows, and their early deaths ? And with the same energy, and the same piety, and the same resignation at home, or even a small part of them, what blessings might they have diffused ! what precious fruits might have been gathered to the ignorant, poor, degraded population of our own new settlements, distant villages, or broken parishes, from their instruction, or counsel, from their charity and prayers. We think much of the wide spreading influence of retired domestic virtue.

When Mrs Judson was first meditating her enterprise, her biographer informs us, that a lady inquired of a common friend, 'Why does she go to India ?' and it being answered, 'Why, she thinks it her duty. Would you not go, if you thought it your duty ?' The good lady replied with emphasis, '*I would not think it my duty.*' The compiler has thought fit to quote the answer with a sneer ; and possibly it may admit of a wilful interpretation. But we think the remark might also be the suggestion of wisdom and of just views of moral obligation. For ourselves, we are disposed to give credit to the worthy matron for having thought wisely, both of the province of women, and of the designs of God. We interpret her answer, as her own determination to maintain such sober and regulated views of truth and duty, as should save her from enthusiastic schemes and unwarrantable and undemanded enterprises. And we are persuaded, that whatever may be the counsels of God with respect to the heathen world, it does not belong to women, to anticipate his providence, or to desert the scenes of duty, usefulness, and happiness at home, where they are wanted, and may certainly do good, for the temptations, exposures, and

sufferings of foreign lands, where they may meet, for all their pains, only insult, and persecution, and death.

To all this it will be replied, that the souls of the poor heathen are perishing for lack of knowledge, and that it is a duty beyond all others, to go at every hazard and deliver them from an everlasting death. To this we only answer, that we have no faith in such views of God, or in such fearful designs for the creatures he has made. We reject such views as utterly opposed to all that reason suggests, that experience teaches, and God's own word declares, of his paternal character and mercy. We believe, that in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him; that whosoever lives according to the light he has, shall never be condemned for the want of opportunities he has not. And especially, with the apostle of the Gentiles, do we believe, that the Gentiles, who do by nature the things contained in the law, are a law to themselves; and through the mercy of God shall obtain, even as we, everlasting life.

ART. X.—*Letters written in the Interior of Cuba, between the Mountains of Arcana, to the East, and of Cusco, to the West, in the Months of February, March, April, and May, 1828.* By the late Rev. ABIEL ABBOT, D. D., Pastor of the First Church in Beverly, in Massachusetts. Boston. Bowles & Dearborn. 1829. 8vo. pp. 256.

THOSE of our readers to whom the author of these letters was not personally known, will be more interested in our remarks and extracts, by first learning something of his character and history, which we will give in the language of the Rev. Dr Flint of Salem, in his sermon preached before Dr Abbot's society, in Beverly, on the 18th of June last, on the occasion of his death.

'Like most of the ministers of New England, who have sustained the piety of her churches, and adorned their office by the sanctity of their manners, Dr Abbot was reared in a family, distinguished, as were generally our yeomanry of the last century, by the simplicity, frugality, and religious order of their domestic economy. From the daily example of his parents, and especially the instructions of a discreet and pious mother, the aspirations of his young heart were early directed in cheerful

devotion to his Father in heaven. As all children should be taught to do,

"He walked with God in holy joy
While yet his days were few;
The deep glad spirit of the boy
To love and reverence grew."

pp. 17, 18.

'His youthful piety accompanied him, as the guardian of his innocence, through his collegiate course, in which the quickness of his parts, and the facility with which he mastered the regular studies of his class, never tempted him to relax into indolence, or to abuse his leisure in any sort of dissipation. He passed that perilous ordeal of youthful virtue without stain or censure, and graduated with honors among the most distinguished of his class. He soon after engaged as assistant instructor in the academy of his native town, where, with the minister of the place, the late Rev. Jonathan French, he pursued his theological studies, till he began to preach at the age of twentyfour. He, from the first, took rank among the most popular preachers of the day. He, a short time after, received and accepted a unanimous call to settle in Haverhill, a beautiful village on the west bank of the Merrimack.

'After eight years usefully and happily spent with an affectionate people, to whom he was extremely endeared, inadequate support and a growing family rendered it an imperative duty, as it seemed to him, reluctantly to ask a separation from a beloved people. It was with equal reluctance granted. He immediately became a candidate for resettlement; and of several invitations from highly respectable societies, he gave the preference to yours. And here, "in the chosen spot," as he writes in his last letter to his family, "where my tabernacle has now been twentyfour years pitched," *ye are witnesses, and God also, how holily and justly and unblameably he has exercised his ministry among you; and as ye also know, has exhorted and comforted and charged every one of you, as a father doth his children, that ye would walk worthy of God, who hath called you to his kingdom and glory.*'

pp. 18, 19.

'There was an amenity and benignity in Dr Abbot's air and voice and address, exceedingly conciliating to strangers and endearing to his friends. His countenance beamed with complacency, and bespoke that inward satisfaction and peace,

"— which goodness bosoms over."

He had always something kind and courteous to say to every one, into whose company he fell even for a few moments; and no one could long remain in his society, that had a heart, who did not feel that he had been conversing with a man equally

amiable, intelligent, and gifted. The minister and the man were never in him at variance with each other. In his most playful moods there was no unbecoming levity. His sport was the innocence of a child, seasoned with the wit of a man, and guarded by the circumspection of a Christian.' pp. 20.

'Dr Abbot was *an eloquent man*, as well as *mighty in the scriptures*. If Jehovah sent Aaron to communicate his will to Pharaoh, *because he could speak well*, Dr Abbot possessed this credential of his office in an eminent degree. His manner in the pulpit was singularly impressive, grave, natural, solemn ;

" much impressed
Himself, as conscious of his awful charge,
And mainly anxious, that the flock he fed
Might feel it too ; affectionate in look,
And tender in address, as well becomes
A messenger of grace to guilty men."

He exhibited a beautiful union of zeal with prudence ; and the love of souls so evidently dictated his admonitions and reproofs to the delinquent, that his fidelity and plainness seldom gave offence. In the sick chamber and in the house of mourning, he was truly *a son of consolation*.

'Few men have lived more endeared, or more deservedly dear in the more private relations of life. Like all virtuous men, he sought and found the best happiness which this world affords, in the bosom of domestic affection, in the reciprocation of those sacred charities and daily offices of love, which render home, the fireside of a christian and well ordered family, at once the best emblem of the mansions which await the righteous in our Father's house in heaven, and the best scene of preparation for those mansions. The yearnings of his heart to return to this asylum of his repose, of his purest affections and joys, are affectingly expressed on his arrival from Cuba at Charleston ; "happy am I to touch natal soil again, and hope soon to revisit *home, sweet home*.*"

'I remark one trait more, in these days of inestimable value in a minister ; his signal love of peace. No object was dearer to his heart than to bring ministers and the people to feel on this subject as he felt. His convention sermon, the delivery of which was almost the last public act of his ministry, will now seem to his brethren, to the community, and still more to his flock, like the dying bequest of Jesus to his disciples ; "*Peace I leave with you ; my peace I give unto you ; not as the world giveth, give I unto you*." No ; the world, and I grieve to say it, the ministers of the Prince of peace, too many of them, speak a very different language, and breathe a very different spirit. But with that dy-

* The burden of a well known popular song.

ing appeal of your pastor in your hands, you, my brethren of this ancient and respectable society, will feel yourselves inexcusable in the sight of heaven, if you allow discord to arise among you, or division to scatter you. How much he was grieved by the angry disputes of the day, and the rending of churches and societies, of which they are the cause, appears in the following extract from the letter before cited. "Yesterday was the anniversary of my peace sermon before the Convention. I fear its gentle notes have not been echoed this year. There is no one thing, that gives me so much pain in returning to my loved country, as to think of its religious dissensions. May the God of peace hush them; and forever preserve my voice from the notes of discord." Happy spirit, thy voice never uttered the notes of discord, and they can never again reach thy ear. Thou art now joined to the sons of peace, the children of God,

"Who have no discord in their song,
Nor winter in their year."

Farewell, faithful servant of God; thy warfare is accomplished, thy work is finished, and thy reward is sure. O God, with whom do rest the spirits of just men made perfect, grant that we, who survive, may *gird up the loins of our minds,—be sober and watch unto prayer,—*that by diligence and perseverance in well doing, we may be followers of them, who through faith and patience, are now inheriting the promises.' pp. 22—24.

To illustrate still more fully the character of this lamented divine, we will add an extract from a sermon preached at Beverly by the Rev John Bartlett, on the Sunday after the intelligence of Dr Abbot's decease was received.

'On a visit to him, made at his request, a few days before his departure to a warmer climate, for the benefit of his health; at a time when his physician and friends and he himself were apprehensive, that the disease, which then oppressed him, would speedily terminate his life; at this time, when the heart has no disguise, and the soul is anxious to utter all that it deems true and kind, important and useful, he thus addressed me (evidently with a wish that it should be remembered and at a fit time communicated)—"I believe the hour of my departure is at hand; how near I cannot say, but not far distant is the time when I shall be in the immediate presence of my Maker. This impression leads me to look back upon my life and inwardly upon my present state. In the review I find many things to be humbled and penitent for, and many things to fill me with gratitude and praise. I have, I trust, the testimony of my heart, that my life, my best powers, my time, and my efforts, have in the main been

sincerely given to God and to mankind. Of all the years of my life, the present, in the review, gives me most pleasure. You know my recent plans and labors and the design of them, [alluding to discourses, delivered before the convention of ministers, and at the ordination of Rev. A. Abbot, and to certain contributions to a religious publication, the *Christian Visitant*, whose object coincided with his views, and to extend the circulation of which he was making great efforts.] In these, I have endeavored to check the spirit of contention among Christians, and as a disciple of the Prince of Peace, to diffuse the spirit of love and peace, to inspire Christians with a warmer zeal for the great objects of religion. The efforts were great. My health and perhaps my life are the sacrifice. If the Lord will, be it so. If ever I faithfully served Him, it was in these services. If ever I felt prepared for death, it was when they were finished. If ever I knew and felt the delightful import of that passage,—*I am now ready to be offered and the time of my departure is at hand; I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith, &c.*, it was then, and it is now. In my own bosom there is peace. Whether life or death be before me, all is well. I can say, *the will of the Lord be done*. With the greatest serenity he alluded to the expected issue of his disorder, and seemed filled with *a good hope through grace* of eternal life. He was indeed *ready to be offered* and is now removed, we believe, to a higher sphere, and to nobler employments and joys.' pp. 26, 27.

Doctor Abbot passed the cold season of 1827–8 in South Carolina and the Island of Cuba for the benefit of his health, and he wrote these letters during his residence in Cuba, with the intention, it seems, of publishing them himself. On his return homeward he arrived at Charleston, S. C. about the first of June, with health greatly improved and the expectation of soon revisiting his family. He preached at Charleston on Sunday, and embarked the next day for New York. On the following day, Tuesday, he was seized with a pain in his head, and continued ill during the remainder of the passage until his decease. He was, however, so well on Saturday morning as to dress himself and go on deck, where he expired at about half past twelve o'clock, just before the ship came to anchor at the quarantine ground. His remains were buried at the cemetery on Staten Island, the funeral service being performed by the Rev. Mr. Miller.

Doctor Abbot arrived at Matanzas on the 14th of February

1828, from which place and its vicinity, nearly half of the letters here published are dated. He left Matanzas about the 23d of March, and proceeded by land to Havana. After spending a short time in this city, he went into the country, and passed the greater part of the remaining time of his stay on the island, at different estates lying at a distance of from thirty to fifty miles southwesterly from Havana, some of them near, and none of them far distant from the southern coast. The letters, being written from day to day at the plantations successively visited by the author, have somewhat the character of a journal, and they describe very vividly and graphically the scenery, characters, and objects, with the interposition of many sensible reflections, presenting altogether, to the reader who has never visited those regions, a very distinct picture of the people and the country, and reviving, to one who has passed over the same ground, a thousand pleasing recollections.

A New Englander, landing for the first time at Matanzas, perceives himself at once to be in another, and apparently very romantic world. The shores are bold and rocky; mountains appear in the distance; trees and plants of new species meet his eye; the sun beats hot in the narrow streets, bordered by low houses, some with tiles, and others with thatched roofs; the windows appear to be thronged with people who are idle, and the streets with those who are brisk and busy. Dr Abbot gives a very lively picture of the place and the people as they appear to a stranger on landing.

'The Spanish visage and costume, strike you with irresistible humor. It seems a scene of masquerade, and as if all are striving to amuse by the extravagance and oddity of their appearance. *Here*, is ambling by you a Don, with a spur on his shoe, his horse's head low, and his tail tied up in a club; *there*, comes a volante with huge wheels, highly adorned with silver plate, with a boot of broadcloth hitched to the top of the vehicle, as if there were nuns or donnas within, not to be seen by vulgar eyes. This heavy carriage is sometimes drawn by one horse, and sometimes by two, with a postillion in livery, and jack-boots reaching almost to his hips, with a monstrous spur at his heel, and a short whip in his hand, both very freely applied. Sometimes, if the sun be hid, the boot or curtain is dropped, discovering to you two or three gaily dressed and laughing girls, or one or two grave men, lounging in the ample chaise body, for this is the form of the carriage. You withdraw your eyes from the volante, to gaze on a vehicle of an humbler character, on

the clumsy cart, with large wheels and a rude body, formed of skins, and perhaps filled with corn, each ear covered with a thin coat of husks, the state in which they preserve this grain. It is drawn by oxen most strangely harnessed.

'A yoke is placed behind their horns at the root, and so fixed to them with fillets and ropes, that they draw or push by their horns without chafing. A rope or thong leads from that gear to the nostril, which is perforated to receive it. A rope thus fastened to the nose of each ox, is sometimes seen in the hand of a man leading the team, as we lead a horse by the bridle; and sometimes the teamster holds the rope in his hand, and walks by the side of the cattle, goading the animals with a ten-foot pole.

'There is an infinite variety of caparison to their riding horses, from saddle of leather and plaited stirrup, to a bed of straw tied on by a rope. Their bridles are as various, with and without bit, of leather, rope, and braided grass. But what strikes the stranger with surprise, almost rising into a nervous feeling, is the constant sight of men in armor. It seems as if it was a time of war, and every horseman a vidette. The broad sword dangles by the side of the gentleman, and holsters are inseparable from his saddle. The simplest countryman on his straw saddle, belts on his rude cutlass; and every man with a skin less dark than an African, appears ready for encounter.' pp. 3, 4.

These letters present a great variety of interesting subjects, with any one of which we might fill the space allotted to the present article. The author, in his earlier letters particularly, makes frequent observations upon the condition of the slaves in Cuba, which seems to have presented itself to him in rather too favourable a light. The Spaniards have the reputation of treating their slaves better than any other people, except the French. But every slaveholder is, to the most essential purposes, an absolute monarch, uniting in himself, in most respects, the legislative, judicial, and executive powers, within the limits of his estate, which constitutes his dominion. And among a whole slaveholding population, very many, even with the best provisions the laws can make to direct and restrain them, will, in fact, make very capricious, tyrannical sovereigns. Instances do happen of slaves being whipped to death in Cuba, though they are very rare. One occurred about three years ago on an estate adjoining to one visited by Doctor Abbot, for an offence very little deserving of such a punishment, and originating

in the want of capacity and discretion in the master to govern the community, which constituted, at the same time, his property and his subjects. We ought to add, however, in justice to the laws, that the master thereby subjected himself to legal prosecution and punishment; that is, according to the letter of the law; but it is to be added, also, to the reproach of the administration of those laws, that he evaded a prosecution, at the expense of eight hundred dollars in bribes. Doctor Abbot was received with so great respect, and regarded with so great kindness, that the more revolting incidents of slavery in general disappeared from his presence. The amenity of his manners, and kindness of his disposition, diffused themselves in some degree into every society of which he became for the time a member. Any one acquainted with the actual condition of a slave population, can regard it, at the best, only as one to be endured and tolerated from the necessity of the case for the time being. No one, who has seen the lashes wantonly inflicted by an unfeeling driver upon an aged, venerable black, and witnessed the deep, sullen, helpless, and despairing sense of injury depicted upon his countenance, can ever afterwards think of slavery without compassion and regret. But we will pass this and the numerous other topics suggested by these letters, to lay before our readers the author's account of the religion and priesthood of the island, a subject which very naturally attracted his particular attention, and frequently recurs in his book; one upon which he was more particularly qualified to judge, and the more interesting in this country, from the circumstance that the Roman Catholic religion is making some progress with us. For though all the vices and faults of any religious sect, are not necessarily attributable to its doctrines and institutions, yet these undoubtedly have a great influence, and many of the vices and indecours of a Roman Catholic clergy, could not be tolerated by Protestant forms of Christianity, even among a Spanish population. We meet with this subject in one of the earliest letters.

‘The ecclesiastical state of this important and opulent island, developes itself to the stranger gradually, by facts, some of which are freely reported on Spanish authority, as well as on European and American. A very singular fact in a Catholic country, holding the celibacy of the clergy as indispensable, is, that most of the padres have families; and few of them are bashful on the subject, or think it necessary to speak of their

housekeeper as a sister or cousin, or of the children that play about the house, as nephews and nieces. They even go further, and will sometimes reason on the subject, and defend habits contrary to the ecclesiastical authority, upon principles of nature and common sense. Certainly an unnatural and unscriptural imposition, which is so unblushingly evaded, should not be attempted to be enforced; but should be revoked. The fearless violation of one law of a community weakens the authority of the whole statute book.

‘Of some of the padres, the morals, in other respects, are quite as glaringly corrupt, as in the particular just mentioned. They are bold, eager, and contemptible gamblers. They go from the table to mass, and from mass to the table; and I do not speak on light authority, nor without unquestionable examples, when I say, that some have been known to *delay mass*, to see the end of a cock fight, and to pit their own cock against the cock of any slave in the circle who has an ounce or a rial to lay on his head.

‘Such degradation of the sacred ermine is attended with contempt, and with something like a sentiment of indignation in the community, and this without distinction of European, American, or Creole. It has the worst influence on the cause of religion, whether Catholic or Protestant. The influence of the clergy is on the wane, and from the habit of mankind, however unreasonable, of confounding the religion itself with the character of its professors, and especially of its ministers, it brings Christianity, heaven-born and spotless as it is, into suspicion, and exposes it to desertion by the young and unreflecting. It is confidently believed by those who are better informed than strangers can be, that infidelity is becoming common in the island, more especially among the rising generation; that there is observable a growing neglect of forms; that in processions with the host, the sons often remain covered, where their fathers spread a white handkerchief on any spot, dry or wet, in the street, and dropped on their knees; that even when they conform to the customs of their fathers and of the church, in faith or ceremony, they often speak of both as superstitious. It is much to be feared that in bounding from the indefensible things in the Catholic form of Christianity, they may depart also, from the faith once delivered to the saints, in its divine form, expressed in words which the Holy Ghost has taught. May God avert such evils, and the scenes witnessed in France be prevented in Spain and her colonies.’ pp. 15, 16.

The following is a description of the church and services at Matanzas.

'The external appearance of the building is not imposing by its grandeur or beauty. The ornaments within are somewhat gorgeous; but not in very good taste. In the recess of the left as you face the principal altar, in a niche of the wall, stands the figure of the patron saint of the city, St Carlo; and in a corresponding niche on the right, is another saint, probably an apostle.

'The altar is adorned with a small figure of Christ crucified; and beside the sacred ark, are cherubim or angels. The paintings about the church have an antique appearance; the coloring is fine, and so are some of the faces. The most considerable which in a hasty glance I noticed, seemed to be of the holy Virgin, ascending, and with a crown on her head, while a group of devotee women were looking upward with an air of grief or of supplication, I was at a loss to decide which.

'The area of the church is open, and without furniture, except a few settees scattered here and there, intended, perhaps, for the infirm and aged, but commonly occupied by the less devout, as I afterwards observed.

'At twelve o'clock, by invitation, I went to church with Mr and Mrs S., under the protection of a Spanish lady. There were about two hundred worshippers and spectators present. The ladies have a church dress, from which it is either unfashionable or sinful to vary. At this time, it being Lent, it is a black gown, black shoes, and a black veil. They entered with servants bearing rugs, which being spread, they kneeled, and commonly the servants kneeled behind them. The ladies were in a kneeling posture through the service, except that many of them, weary of that attitude, sought relief by sitting, like persons of another religion, upon their carpets. From this attitude, however, at the sound of a small bell, they resumed the kneeling posture. At the same signal the gentlemen, usually standing, or sitting on the settees, spread a handkerchief on the pavement and kneeled.

'The service was short,—perhaps fifteen or twenty minutes, consisting of prayers read rapidly, not heard, except in a low murmuring voice, a word not being distinguishable by a single worshipper. In general, the officiating priest was with his face towards the altar and of course his back towards the assembly, so that they must have heard with difficulty, even if he had spoken with distinctness. But to be heard was not intended; for if heard it would have been useless, as the prayers were in an unknown tongue. It was simply pantomimic devotion—form, exhibited to the eye—and nothing else. The priest alone received the wafer and the cup; and if I mistake not, it was at

the moment of his receiving the wafer and the cup severally, that the bell was rung, that all in the church might simultaneously kneel.

'Accustomed to Protestant worship, which, very naturally, appears to me more intellectual, instructive, and spiritual, this scene was not highly edifying. Yet, I deny not that there was a solemnity in the scene, which may have been impressive to some. The almost twilight darkness of the church; the tapers burning at noon-day; the profound stillness of the assembly, and the prostration of the greater part of it, master and slave, mistress and serving woman, kneeling together in an open space without distinction, as equally needing and supplicating mercy of their common Creator; was an impressive scene. It was an appeal, partly to the senses, and partly to the imagination, and for the passing moment with some effect. But the understanding not having been enlightened, nor the affections interested by a distinct exhibition of truth, and duty, or a detailed confession of sin, I should judge the impression to be vague and generalizing, and not tending to the correction of the errors of the heart and life; not likely to be followed by the necessary fruits of repentance, and a really devout and holy life.

'It would be disingenuous to condemn in the whole the offices of religion, because performed in a manner widely from one's own experience; and I doubt not, that in some Catholic hearts the religious principle is so strong that it is fed and comforted by means and ceremonies so jejune. But what is the influence of this system of religion on the mass of population in this city and this country? In Matanzas, there is a population of ten or twelve thousand, and but a single church. Mass is said at different hours from early morning to meridian; to three successive assemblies, of perhaps one hundred and fifty, or two hundred souls chiefly females; and not an audible word of instruction is given. Whatever benefit is to be derived from visiting the church, is shared by a very small portion of the people,—nine thousand, out of ten thousand, probably nineteen individuals out of twenty, have neither part nor lot in the benefit, whatever it may be. The influence of fifteen minutes in the church, if salutary, seems soon dissipated by the business and amusement without its walls. The shops are open, the cockpit fuller than on busier days of the week, and the streets thronged with volantes; the theatre and ball-room crowded; and the city devoted to pleasure. How many of those, who kneel in the church, retire to kneel or read, or reflect in secret, and how many hasten to mingle in the scenes just described, is known to God.' pp. 61—63.

We pass by the account of his attending matins, to extract

that of the confessions. After describing the church, which is in the form of a cross, and noticing the gaudily dressed waxen images of saints, as large as life, placed in niches and protected by large glass cases, about the walls on the inside, the writer proceeds ;

‘ It was still dark when I entered the church, and I passed a devotee near the door, the only one arrived. He was contemplating a painting of the Saviour, I think as baptized of John ; and stood crossing himself, with much appearance of mental prayer. Soon after, he advanced to a picture of the Virgin, and his devotions were renewed, and near that spot, he sunk on his knees. An attendant came in, and from a lamp burning in the centre of the church, lighted two wax tapers, and set them on the front altar. Worshippers began to come in, and I recognised the faces of most whom I had seen there before, which led me to think that they were nearly the same individuals, who always attend. The old men were the same, and some of the women. Three negro boys, well dressed, came in and kneeled on their handkerchiefs ; after a while, they rose, and went near a side altar, and kneeled again, and in the most solemn part of the service, they advanced beyond all others, and kneeled on the step leading towards the front altar, where the priest was officiating. A black woman decently dressed, advanced far, and kneeled ; rose and kneeled again close to a side altar, and after service, if I was not mistaken in the individual, she was full ten minutes kneeling and confessing to a priest. Several ladies came in and kneeled on rugs, spread by a servant, who kneeled behind them. Some of them had prayer books in which they read ; and then, closing them, clasped their hands, looking to the altar and cross, as if in mental prayer. The countenances of several, which I had seen in church before, were those of sincere and intense devotion. I saw none that came in without crossing themselves, and most of them, after touching the holy water ; the first that I mentioned, who was alone in the church when I entered, made sundry applications to the font, and then to his crown, and face and breast. The service was the same as mentioned in a former letter ; short and inaudible ; full of genuflections, bending of the body, osculation of the altar, elevation of the host, and parting of the hands, as the priest turned and looked at the people.

‘ After the service was closed, the officiating priest retired into the vestry and returned in a black gown and sat in one of the confessionaries. The negro, just mentioned, was the first to confess, and was long and earnest, resting her hand against the side of the confessionary, holding a shawl up, as if to prevent being seen and heard. She applied her mouth to a tin plate full of

small holes or perforations, as of a grater, on one side, and the priest his ear on the other. When she retired, several were in waiting, kneeling near by, and one or two of them reading in their prayer book. But the priest beckoned an infirm old man, and he approached and kneeled on his footstool in front. The priest rested his hand on the penitent's shoulder, and their heads being near together, a short confession was made, and I presume, absolution given, as he was one of two only, who kneeled a little while after, at the side altar, and received the wafer. As soon as he retired, an elderly woman kneeled at the side of the confessional, and was soon dismissed. A young lady then kneeled, with her face turned to the wall; but the priest for the present, neglecting his office, beckoned to an officer in partial uniform, several times. He, however, not understanding his intention, or perhaps, wishing to decline confession, kept his place in the floor. The priest then descended from the confessional and reached out his hand to him, for a *pinch of snuff*, which was readily granted, and he returned to listen to the youthful and beautiful sinner, still patiently kneeling.' pp. 70—72.

We quote still another account of a service at the church in Matanzas, which will strike the American Protestant reader, as still more remarkable.

'On the morning of the sabbath, I attended the earliest service of the church. The tapers were soon lighted at the left hand of the altar, and the attendant drew up the curtain, and revealed the crucifixion in wooden or wax figures, as large as life. The sufferer had bowed his head, and given up the ghost. The countenance of death—the nails through his hands, knees, and feet—the blood gushing over his limbs, and down his side, presented an affecting, an awful object, which seemed to excite a strong emotion on those around me, as like the real spectators of the crucifixion, *they smote on their breasts*. Three women, the virgin mother distinguished from the rest, stood and kneeled around the cross.

'Before this scene, an aged priest, his hair as white as snow, performed mass. Whether it was that the crucifixion is here more affectingly displayed, than at the other altars, or that the aged form of the priest, and his tremulous, yet louder voice, his longer pauses and prostrations, giving time for the feelings to rise and strengthen, and the greater appearance of his being himself moved, produced the effect, I know not, but the assembly was more generally affected than I had witnessed at any other performance of mass, and it was also, a larger assembly that attended. How lasting, how holy, how sanctifying were

the impressions made, and the emotions kindled by this strong appeal to the senses, the great Searcher of hearts can tell. But I believe it is ever found, that passionate feelings subside quickly, whether produced by strong pictures addressed to the eye, vehement tones to the ear, or strong images to the imagination; and that, to affect a man lastingly, his understanding must be distinctly convinced and enlightened, and his conscience subjected to truth and principle.

‘My friend, the padre, who had invited me to the church, had not yet appeared. I waited, therefore, through the interval of service, as did forty or fifty others, it may have been twenty minutes. The bell was again tolled, and at the same time, the distant note of the bugle was heard, alternating with the drum and fife, and a company of soldiers in uniform, with a quick step, and animated air, marched into the centre of the church, and stood ranged in a solid square. At the same time, my friend appeared at the front altar, in canonicals, attended by a cadet with his broadsword suspended from his shoulder behind him; and as the priest kneeled, the drum and fife rang a shrill salute. The service was as usual, and at every signal of the little bell, the drum and fife cheered, and the church resounded with martial notes, in the most solemn crises of the service; the soldiers kneeling, crossing themselves, and striking upon the breast. The band seemed to go through the duty with the same precision, and with the same feelings, as through the drill on parade.

‘My untrained feelings were somewhat shocked with the pomp and circumstance of war, thus mingled with the most awful rites of our religion—the clangor of arms with the holy communion, in which the soul wishes to muse in grateful and awful silence, and to dissolve in tears of love and contrition.—pp. 76, 77.

With this extract we close our very brief and imperfect notice of these letters, which we recommend to our readers as highly entertaining, supplying a great deal of useful information respecting a country very interesting, on many accounts, to the people of the United States; and which very advantageously display the sound sense, goodness of heart, and intellectual activity and accomplishments of the author.

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